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AGERPRES REPORTS ROMANIAN DELEGATE'S CSCE SPEECH

AU281838 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Madrid (AGERPRES 28/4/1983 -- During the plenary meeting of the Madrid all-European reunion, the Romanian chief delegate presented the answer of President Nicolae Ceausescu to the appeal made by several neutral and non-aligned countries concerning the conclusion of the proceedings of the Madrid reunion, the positive appreciation of the efforts and initiative of the neutral states, and of the revised draft final document that stipulates, inter alia, the calling of a conference on measures of confidence building and disarmament in Europe as well as the continuity of the CSCE process. Considering the revised draft final document apt to serve as a general base for an agreement, provided that the legitimate interests of all the states participant in the reunion are taken into consideration, the Romanian chief delegate, Ambassador Vasile Sandru showed that just as other countries, Romania believed that certain improvements and mentions were still needed in the draft, and she declared for an immediate resumption of negotiations so that the concrete proposals concerning the improvement of the reunion's draft final document might be presented and examined.

The Romanian chief delegate expressed his country's belief that provided that a constructive spirit and collaboration are manifest, with sustained joint effort a quick conclusion of the Madrid reunion, in positive substantive results might be achieved. These efforts have to be made in a spirit of mutual respect and fully equal rights, in agreement with the norms and principles making the foundation of the cooperation among the states participant in the CSCE, he said, highlighting Romania to have always attached special importance to engineering security and developing the cooperation in Europe and to have made her contribution to the preparation, unfolding and successful conclusion of the CSCE, while considering the strengthening of the European security and cooperation to be a vital necessity for all the countries on the continent.

Referring to the fundamental targets of Romania's participation in the all-European forum of Madrid, the speaker highlighted the need for a strict application of the principles of the Final Act, for adoption of a resolution concerning the calling of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe, for strengthening and development of the relations among the participant states, for a resumption of detente and for ensuring continuity to the CSCE process. He also mentioned that Romania was ready to host the next all-European reunion, in Bucharest.

GREEK PRESIDENT PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT 25-27 APRIL

Karamanlis Arrives 25 April

AU250904 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0830 GMT on 25 April interrupts its music program to announce that a live relay will be broadcast soon from Varna airport to report the arrival of Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Republic of Greece, at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council.

As the live relay from the Varna airport begins at 0837 GMT, the announcer reports the presence of Todor Zhivkov and "other officials" at the festively decorated airport which carries portraits of the two leaders and posters with welcoming slogans.

The announcer then states that the aircraft landed "a short while ago" and that the official greeting ceremony will follow. He goes on to elaborate on Bulgarian-Greek relations and their favorable implications on Balkan policy and relations.

According to the announcer, "Karamanlis steps on Bulgarian soil" at 0838 GMT and is greeted by Zhivkov and Young Pioneers who present flowers. "Karamanlis is accompanied by Greek officials who will participate with him in the official talks." At this point, the national anthems of the two countries are played by a military band, the soldiers present arms, and the two presidents inspect the Navy honor guard.

Todor Zhivkov then introduces Karamanlis to the Bulgarian officials present at the airport -- Comrades Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture; Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee; ministers; leaders of Varna city and Okrug; as well as officers of the Bulgarian Navy.

Todor Zhivkov and Konstandinos Karamanlis are greeted by the cheering crowds and talk to "representatives of the Varna public," after which they are greeted by another honor guard performing a ceremonial march. They then leave the airport building and drive to the city.

The live relay closes at 0948 GMT.

Official Talks Open

AU251811 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 83

[Text] On 25 April at the Evksinograd residence official talks between Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, and Konstandinos Karamanlis, Greek president, opened. In an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding and in a constructive spirit they reviewed the development of bilateral relations. Some topical international issues were also reviewed. Tonight Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, gives an official dinner for Konstandinos Karamanlis, Greek president, at the Black Sea hotel.

Zhivkov Toast at Dinner

AU271350 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Apr 83 pp 1-2

[Toast proposed by Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman of the PRB, at official dinner given on 25 April in honor of Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Republic of Greece, at the Black Sea VIP Hotel in Varna]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades; I most sincerely welcome Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis, the president of the Republic of Greece, and the officials accompanying him as our dear guests on Bulgarian soil and I wish them a useful stay in our country. I am glad, Mr President, to confirm the great respect which we, all of us, have for you, as a wise and far-sighted politician and statesman of our neighbor country, Greece. I am particularly pleased to stress your historical contribution to the development of relations and to the consolidation of mutual trust between our two peoples.

It is a particular pleasure for me to welcome you for the second time in Varna -- our beautiful Black Sea port. This town is situated on the seaside and since ancient times the Black Sea has been the link connecting the peoples inhabiting your and our countries. The warm hospitality with which our people greet you expresses the Bulgarian people's sincere wish to live in peace and understanding with the Greek people.

Mr President, your visit gives us an opportunity to pursue our useful dialogue. This is natural, because in our talks with you we have always been guided by the striving to improve and expand comprehensive cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece because our joint efforts in this direction have produced considerable results.

Bulgarian-Greek relations are developing successfullly, along ascending lines, in the political, economic, and cultural sectors. Our relations are a joint achievement and in our opinion they set a good example of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between two states with different political and socioeconomic systems. I would like to assure you, Mr. President, that we are striving to enhance these relations to an even higher level, for which the necessary, favorable prerequisites exist. The talks we already held with you inspire me with hope that the good-neighborly spirit, understanding, and cooperation between our countries will continue to be consolidated and further developed in the interest of our two peoples and in the interest of people and security in the Balkans and in Europe.

Mr President, it is a well known fact that the international situation has become more complicated in recent years. However, we are particularly concerned about the fact that this situation is also becoming increasingly dangerous. New nuclear missile systems are being prepared for deployment in the West European states. This exacerbates the situation and leads to a new stage in intense military preparations, which increases the danger of war. We fully share the great alarm and concern of millions of people about the fate of mankind.

It is the duty of the peace-loving forces and governments to do everything within their power to stop the armaments race and to eliminate the threat of a nuclear way by inducing a change from confrontation to detente and cooperation in international relations and toward the creation of prerequisites for disarmament. The constructive proposals of the Warsaw Pact nations of January 1982 calling for disarmament and for the signing of a treaty with NATO members on the mutual commitment not to use military force and to maintain peaceful relations are aimed at this goal as well.

Our country is in favor of a prompt and successful conclusion of the Soviet-American Geneva negotiations on the limitations and reduction of medium-range nuclear arms, as well as of strategic weapons, upon the basis of equality and equal security. The Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe must also be conducted to a successful end. We would also like the Madrid meeting to end as soon as possible with a decision to convene a conference on measures for consolidating mutual trust and security, as well as for achieving disarmament in Europe.

As for the Balkans, you know, Mr President, that the PRB is constantly making efforts for the consolidation of peace and security in our region and for the expansion of cooperation with our neighbor states. Our proposals in this respect are well known.

Mr President, as states situated in the Balkan peninsula, Bulgaria and Greece are situated in the immediate geographical vicinity of a number of hotbeds of tension and conflicts.

The preservation of world peace demands, in this context as well, that political methods of settling the existing problems be sought.

We have declared on several occasions that we support the efforts for peace and for a just solution of the Cyprus problem, likely to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus by fully demilitarizing the island and observing the interests of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

We are greatly concerned about the development of the Middle East situation, where Israel, supported by foreign forces, continues to occupy Lebanon. We are in favor of the prompt and full withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon and from all territories occupied in 1967. We are in favor of recognizing the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own independent state. Only a solution which respects the interests of all countries and peoples in that area can be lasting and peaceful. We are also in favor of the peaceful settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq. We have a positive stand on the idea of transforming the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of stability, peace, and cooperation.

Mr President, I think that I am fully justified in ending my toast with the following words: Our meeting in Varna will contribute to the further ascending development of political, economic, and cultural relations between the PRB and the Republic of Greece. In this conviction I propose the following toasts:

-- To the consolidation of peace and cooperation among the peoples and states in the Balkans, Europe, and the world;

-- To the prosperity of the friendly Greek people;

-- To the health of Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Republic of Greece;

-- To the health of all here present!

-- Cheers! (applause)

Report on Karamanlis Speech

AU251947 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 25 Apr 83

[Excerpt] In his speech the president of Greece, Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis, too, stressed that the present meeting is a confirmation of the strong ties of friendship which bind the two peoples. "These regular meetings of ours are milestones in the development of the relations between the two countries, because they make it possible on the one hand to expand the friendship and cooperation between our peoples and on the other to exchange useful thoughts on both the problems of our region, and on global and alarming issues which are topical today" he said.

Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis stressed that the great progress in the development of Bulgaro-Greek relations in all spheres of life already stands an example to be followed. Bulgaria and Greece are developing their relations of cooperation while adhering to the principles of independence, of non-interference in internal affairs, and to the principles of the peaceful solution to international problems and the right of every nation to freely choose their way of living.

"It was only natural that this magnificent development of the Greek-Bulgarian relations should have a favorable impact also on the general climate of our region and encourage the multilateral ties of cooperation of the Balkan peoples" he said. This region, with its proverbial instability and its explosive contradictions, is already setting an example for a peaceful and creative cooperation between countries with different economic and social systems.

Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis subscribed to the alarm as expressed by Mr Todor Zhivkov over the present international situation. "The perplexity and the irresponsibility which are taking the upper hand in the world today, assume such norms and such dimensions that they endanger even world peace. This danger is not only unjustified, but also incomprehensible, since no one, not a single nation in the world wishes war" he said.

Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis spoke in favor of the need of the strengthening of peace and security in the world, in favor of disarmament. He stressed that to ensure peace there could be no other guarantee but the controlled balance of forces. Dwelling again on today's meeting, he stressed its special significance, not only because it is bound to provide a fresh impetus to the links of cooperation between the people of Bulgaria and Greece, but because it is taking place at a time when the international situation is insecure and dangerous.

I believe that the talks we shall have will make it possible for us to evaluate the ways with which the two countries will be able to contribute jointly or separately to the solution of the great tasks of our time and first of all the strengthening of international peace, said Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1900 GMT on 25 April reports the dinner and adds: "The dinner was attended by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee on Culture; and Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and public services; and by the chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Greek Governmental Commission on Economic Cooperation; ministers; Dimitur Popov, Varna BCP Committee first secretary; Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Varna Okrug People's Council; and other Varna Okrug officials. The officials accompanying the Greek president also attended the dinner."]

Zhivkov-Karamanlis Talks Continue

AU261518 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 26 Apr 83

[Text] Varna, April 26 (BTA) -- The talks between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis continued here this morning. The two statesmen discussed topical international issues. They expressed concern over the aggravation of the international situation, over its particularly dangerous development of late.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Konstandinos Karamanlis emphasized that it is the paramount duty of the peace-loving forces and the governments to make maximum efforts to defend detente, to unfold the trust and cooperation in international relations.

They attached special importance to the situation in the Balkans. The exacerbated international situation needs ever greater efforts for consolidating the goodneighbourliness, understanding and cooperation among the Balkan states, which is in the interest of peace and security in Europe and in the world. The preservation of peace demands here, too, the looking for political means for resolving any existing problems.

The talks proceeded in a constructive spirit and atmosphere of understanding, which is in accordance with the friendly relations between the Bulgarian and Greek peoples, with the trust and respect between the two heads of state.

Departs From Varna

AU270726 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0702 GMT on 27 April carries a live relay from Varna airport on the departure of Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of Greece, who had paid a "friendly visit" to Bulgaria from 25-27 April at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The announcer says that Zhivkov and Karamanlis hear the report of the honorary military unit's commander and then listen to the playing of the Greek and the Bulgarian anthems. Mr Karamanlis then proceeds to greet the military unit present at the airport and afterward shakes hands with the following officials who came to see him off. "Georgi Yordanov and Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug party committee; and ministers and leaders of the okrug and the city." The announcer then briefly summarizes the talks held between Zhivkov Karamanlis, emphasizing that "Bulgaria spares no efforts to achieve peace and good-neighborliness in the Balkans."

According to the announcer, at 0710 GMT Zhivkov accompanies Karamanlis to the plane, where they shake hands in parting. Shortly afterward, the announcer states that the live relay from Varna airport has ended.

ZHIVKOV REPLIES TO NONALIGNED APPEAL TO CSCE

AU291933 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA) -- The state and government leaders of Austria, Cyprus, Finland, San Marino, Sweden and Yugoslavia have launched an appeal to the president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov and the state leaders of the other member-countries of the Madrid meeting in connection with its work.

In his reply to the appeal, sent today, the president of the State Council, Mr Todor Zhivkov says:

It is with complete understanding that we regard the joint appeal of April 18, 1983, of the state and government leaders of Austria, Cyprus, Finland, San Marino, Sweden and Yugoslavia. There can be no doubt that this political step has been prompted by your concern over the present state of the work of the Madrid meeting of the representatives of the participating members in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as by your wish and striving for its soon and successful completion. We assess the initiative adopted as a new positive contribution of the neutral and the non-aligned countries of Europe to the achievement of an agreement. This is also our wish. It is dictated by a profound conviction that no one will lose of the success of the Madrid meeting, but many will win. Its conclusion with a meaningful and a well-balanced document is bound to provide a fresh impetus to the all-European process started in Helsinki. This conviction has guided Bulgaria from the very beginning of the work in Madrid.

We consider that the renewed draft of the neutral and the non-aligned countries, submitted on March 15 this year can serve as a basis for the complete coordination of the final document and we are ready to make our constructive contribution in that respect.

CSCE Delegate's Comments

AU292011 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 29 Apr 83

[By BTA correspondent]

[Text] Madrid, April 29 -- "The concern of the protraction of the Madrid meeting expressed by the neutral and the non-aligned countries is shared also by the socialist states. We must not forget that the Madrid meeting represents a multilateral forum for a political dialogue between sovereign states where no unilateral views and approaches can be imposed," said today the leader of the Bulgarian delegation, Ambassador Konstantine Grigorov, in a statement made at the plenary session. "Mutual esteem and respect for the laws, the administrative regulations and traditions of every state-participant in the Madrid meeting should be demonstrated here".

In spite of the fact that some of the considerations and requirements of the Bulgarian delegation were not taken into account in the renewed draft document, the Bulgarian delegation is nevertheless accepting it as a basis for the final coordination of a final document itself, said Mr Grigorov in his statement. Recalling once again that Bulgaria's overall attitude towards the Madrid meeting is that reflected in the Prague communique of the foreign ministers of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, he supported the proposal for the next meeting of the Madrid type to be held in Bucharest and called for the exertion of sincere efforts and good political will for a speedy and successful completion of the meeting.

KARADZHOV DELEGATION RETURNS FROM AFGHANISTAN

AU021558 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] On 2 May the Bulgarian party-state delegation led by Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, returned from Afghanistan. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Afghan People's Democratic Party it took part in celebrations marking the fifth anniversary of the victory of the April Revolution. Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, greeted the delegation at Sofia Airport.

HOFFMANN MAY DAY AWARDS CEREMONY SPEECH

LD301344 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 0755 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Speech by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Central Trade Union Council chairman, at the May Day awards ceremony in Prague Castle]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and President of the Republic, esteemed guests, Comrades:

Once again we have gathered at this festive assembly in Prague Castle on the eve of May Day, the festival of labor, to pay tribute to the meritorious activity of outstanding working collectives and individuals, who by their creative and selfless effort have made a special contribution to the development of socialist society.

Our meeting takes place in a year that marks the 35th anniversary of the February victory of the working class, which generated a new and powerful wave of creative initiative among the Czechoslovak people. The year that has passed since the last meeting was marked by the painstaking activity of millions of working people aimed at the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. It brought increased activity by trade unionists and members of the youth union, who discussed the results of their respective congresses -- the 10th All-Trade Union Congress and the 3d Congress of the Socialist Union of Youth -- and took measures to ensure their implementation.

Our gathering is also taking place and is being marked by the struggle for peace. All year Czechoslovak working people have been expressing their clearcut stance on the most worrying development in the world. The people of the CSSR reject and condemn the dangerous war-like policy of U.S. President Reagan and fully support the peace policy and proposals of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other Warsaw Pact members. They demonstrate once again that we in Czechoslovakia are interested in peace and that we are ready to do everything possible to preserve it. We are also demonstrating this through the preparations for the World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War, which are in their final stage. We are creating all essential conditions for its success.

During the past year we achieved good results due to the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the Czechoslovak working people. The sincere gratitude of our party, the government, trade union, and the entire society belongs to all of them. We especially warmly thank all those who have set examples and who best coped with their tasks, those who give society substantially more than is required and who, by their initiative and innovation, stimulate others. Many of them in individual regions have received awards which they richly deserve. The very best ones have assembled here in Prague Castle today to receive the highest orders, recognitions, and honorary titles.

Esteemed comrades, it is you,who deserve special thanks and who will be decorated here -- this also applies to the members of your families -- that I welcome most cordially at this festive gathering on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, on behalf of its general secretary and president of the republic, Comrade Husak, and on behalf of the government and the Central Trade Union Council. [applause]

I welcome representatives of party and state bodies, organizations of the National Front, members of the diplomatic corps and all other guests.

Comrades, acting on behalf of the sick federal prime minister, Comrade Lubomir Strougal, the gala speech will be delivered by Comrade Josef Korcak, deputy federal prime minister. I will now ask him to take the floor.

KURIER REPORTS STROUGAL EXPECTED TO RESIGN

AU021255 Vienna KURIER in German 2 May 83 p 3

[Unattributed report: "CSSR Leadership 'Reshuffle' Imminent"]

[Text] In Prague a change in the top positions seems imminent as Premier Lubomir Strougal may resign. Rumors to that effect, which have been circulating in Prague for weeks, seem substantiated by the fact that Strougal failed to attend the May Day parade in Prague.

The premier, who is regarded as a pragmatist and technocrat, has actually not carried out the duties of his office since the beginning of this year, and has appeared in public only on one single occasion in this period -- on 24 February.

As early as January 1980 Strougal had to undergo a gallstone operation. Early in March of this year a second gallstone operation followed. In addition, the 58-year-old premier suffers from a liver disease and a malfunctioning pancreas. As has been learned from Prague medical circles, cell tests for cancer have been negative.

Interior Minister Jaromir Obzina is regarded as the most likely candidate to succeed Strougal as premier. He is regarded as a confidant of Soviet party chief Yuriy Andropov. These two men cooperated for 15 years in the field of state security.

CHNOUPEK INTERVIEW ON JAPAN, MALAYSIA VISITS

LD292258 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1850 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Unidentified correspondent's interview with Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek following his visit to Malaysia and Japan; date and place not specified -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, the entire world media were rather interested in this visit. What was the topic of your numerous talks in Japan?

[Answer] I believe that interest was evoked especially by the fact that after a certain period of time this was the first deliberation on such a high level between the Japanese Government and a representative of a socialist country. The subjects of our talks, I would say, were of a traditional structure: International political issues were at the forefront. In my opinion, the results of these deliberations with Japanese representatives at the summit level -- whether with Prime Minister Nakasone, with Foreign Affairs Minister Abe, with representatives of the two chambers of the Japanese parliament or the representatives of Japanese economic circles -- clearly showed this Japanese Government's interest in the expansion of the political dialogue with us in all areas, especially by the well-tried way of personal contacts, and Japan's interest in deepening the traditional economic dialogue. They confirmed their interest in cooperation in the cultural area, which both sides describe as extremely fruitful. We have basically agreed with Foreign Minister Abe and with Prime Minister Nakasone that our mutual relations are stable and viable, that they are a contribution to the policy of detente, and that both governments are interested in their further continuation and expansion. We were very pleased that Foreign Affairs Minister Abe accepted our invitation, saying that he would try to arrange a visit to Czechoslovakia as soon as possible, and that the new prime minister, Nakasone, reacted in a similar way to renewed invitations.

Regarding international political issues, we must remember that these were deliberations between representatives of two countries with different political systems. We conveyed the Warsaw Pact's coordinated policy views, following the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee session held in Czechoslovakia in January 1983, and the conclusions of the communique of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session also held recently in Prague. The Japanese, as they said, conveyed the views of a liberal community to which, they say, they ascribe themselves. In spite of this, I believe that on the basic issues on which civilization currently stands, and by which it could fall -- such as the issues of strengthening peace, peaceful cooperation, returning to the policy of detente, disarmament, and also on other issues -- our views were identical or very close. They stated their unequivocal support for the policies of peace and detente, and received our information about the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee and the Committee of Foreign Ministers held in Prague in the same spirit. Above all, they listened with interest to our proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the nonuse of force between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

However, we also had to remember that we have different views. When for example we conveyed our coordinated stance on the issue of medium-range missiles and their possible deployment in some NATO countries in the European Continent, they expressed regret -- I quote Prime Minister Nakasone -- that Moscow did not accept not only the zero option, but Reagan's interim solution. They expressed apprehension about the deployment of Soviet missiles on the Asian Continent, on which we expressed our clear views. We differed in our views on other issues too, but this does not change the basic fact that we have found a common language in the central, global issues. From this point of view, I think, the exchange of views and the interest in their continuation are a very good and useful result of my visit.

[Question] How would you describe your talks in Malaysia?

[Answer] I believe that the correct description is a probe, a first contact. We have not known each other very well till now; this was the first political contact with representatives of Malaysia, this important ASEAN country, at such a high political level. I must say, and I say this with great pleasure, that the reception by Prime Minister Mahathir, my extensive -- over 6 days -- talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs Ghazali, and the receptions by other representatives of this state confirmed the interests of Malaysia and Czechoslovakia in beginning, continuing, and deepening dialogue, and interests in probing (?the possibility) of cooperation in the international political sphere. I would say that we had identical views on the basic issues. Malaysia is a member of the Nonaligned Movement, and although we could not find an identical view on, for example, how to deal with the situation in Cambodia -- they propagated the creation of a coalition government -- we did observe certain positive realistic elements in their policy: for example a positive reaction to the proposal of the foreign ministers of Indochina on commencing dialogue. Malaysia is one of the countries that has started this dialogue, and we were very pleased when it confirmed that it wanted to continue in this dialogue in the future.

Regarding mutual relations, I believe that one of the main results of this visit is the fact that further political contacts will follow. Minister Ghazali has accepted our invitation, and wants to come to Czechoslovakia soon; we have made a decision to hold regular consultations in the political sphere, and there is interest in economic cooperation. An interesting observation is that the prime minister preaches a politician's philosophy, or a political philosophy, which he calls "Look East."

He very much propagates the Japanese economic and management system. He likes the high productivity, specialization, and effectiveness of the Japanese economy. It was a novelty for him when we informed him that even before the war Czechsolovakia was the second biggest supplier of steel [word indistinct] for the Japanese industry; that Mr Toyota, the producer of famous cars, owned a textile factory for which he ordered all machinery from Czechoslovakia, and as he was satisfied with this he also ordered our famous DD 200; that the Honda motorcylces use our clutches, and so on. He then expressed the wish, (?when) I asked why dialogue between us in this area had not begun earlier, [words indistinct] it was a sincere wish to expand cooperation in science, technology, and the economy, in addition to traditional trade.

UNITA PRISONERS ARRIVE IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA

NC021526 Paris AFP in English 1518 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Paris, May 2 (AFP) -- A first batch of Czechoslovaks from the group of 64 seized in central Angola seven weeks ago has now reached the main base of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] anti-government movement in southern Angola.

Alexander Ivan, a 54-year-old translator at the Catumbela timber factory attacked by UNITA guerrillas on March 12, said that the eight people in his group had to walk 1,150 kms (720 miles) and travel another 700 km (440 miles) by lorry before they reached the base camp on Saturday. Mr Ivan told a special correspondent for the French radio station France Inter that the captives had been separated into three groups. He said that "since lack of food and medicines did not make it any easier for the weakest to keep moving and made the march dangerous for all of us the UNITA leader decided to separate us, which is why we arrived first."

The French journalist said that Mr Ivan was wearing new clothes but had grown a beard and seemed tense. The translator said that "We are very tired, and worried about our families who are behind us, the women and the children, of which the youngest is only 18 months old. We were told that we were not prisoners of war, that no conditions had been set for our liberation, and that there were no plans to exchange us."

However, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi told the French radio reporter that the movement wished to "exchange some of these Czechs for seven British mercenaries held by (the Angolan central government in) Luanda, for French Doctor Philippe Augoyard, who is held in Kabul (by the pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan) and for some of our members jailed in Luanda." Asked why he intended to seek Dr Augoyard's release, Mr Savimbi replied: "Someone asked us to do it, we are not short of friends in France."

The UNITA leader said that any exchange of prisoners would probably take place under the control of the International Red Cross. He said that he did not want to keep the Czechoslovaks captive for too long because "this would create problems for us, particularly with regard to our security."

ANGOLAN DEFENSE MINISTER, DELEGATION ARRIVE

LD301957 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Text] Today a military delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, lead by Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and minister of defense, arrived in Czechoslovakia for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the minister of national defense.

The guests were welcomed with military honors at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense; generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army; and other personages.

Dzur Talks With Minister

LD302005 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Text] Today Army General Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, had talks in Prague with Col Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the MPLA-Worker's Party and minister of defense of Angola. They discussed the creative efforts of peoples of both countries, experiences in building armed forces and the present international situation.

Husak Receives Minister

LD021822 Prague CTK in English 1552 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Prague -- General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President Gustav Husak received here Monday members of the Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA) -- Party of Labour Politburo, Angolan Defence Minister Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha and chief of the Main Political Administration, Deputy Defence Minister Francisco Magalhaes Paiva, paying an official visit to Czechsolovakia. In a friendly discussion they appreciated the two countries' cooperation and reviewed some topical issues of the international situation. They also discussed steps being taken by the two countries' governments to free the Czechoslovak citizens kidnapped by the anti-government UNITA group in Angola.

JAKES-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MOSCOW

LD291251 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] A delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee led by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, has returned from Moscow, having attended the Moscow consultative meeting of CEMA. Members of the delegation were Josef Haman, candidate member of the presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee; Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier and Czechoslovak permanent representative to CEMA, and Zbynek Sojak, director of a Central Committee department.

FOJTIK RECEIVES MSZMP STUDY DELEGATION

LD281754 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received an MSZMP study delegation led by the head of its Agitation and Propaganda Committee Ernc Lakatos today. In a comradely discussion they dealt with the questions of ideological work and the development of further cooperation between the two parties in the political-educational sphere. In the course of their stay in Czechoslovakia, the members of the delegation will exchange experiences on the implementation of the tasks laid down by the congresses of the two fraternal parties in this sphere.

Present at the reception were departmental heads of the CPCZ Central Committee Vasil Bejda and Otto Cmolik.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE BULGARIANS ON TREATY DAY

AU251954 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Prague, 22 Apr (CTK) -- The top representatives of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria exchanged congratulatory telegrams on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and the 15th anniversary of the signing of the new treaty of alliance between the CSSR and the PRB.

The telegram sent by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR previr, to Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the PRB, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB states:

Dear comrades: On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the PRB and the 15th anniversary of the new Czechoslovak-Bulgarian treaty of alliance we convey to you, to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the PRB, as well as to all Bulgarian people ardent comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, the Czechoslovak people, and also in our own name.

The signing of the significant treaty document on 23 April 1943 by the great sons of the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian people -- Klement Gottwald and Georgi Dimitrov -- laid new, firm foundations of friendship and fruitful and all-round cooperation between our countries and their peoples. These relations rest on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, on the unity of goals and common interests of the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian peoples in building the socialist society and in struggling to ensure peace in the world. The well-tested principles of developing broad mutual contacts in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres were also anchored in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the PRB signed 15 years ago.

We in the CSSR hold in high esteem Czechoslovak-Bulgarian friendship and appreciate the results achieved in the fraternal cooperation of our two Communist Parties, countries, and peoples of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The CPCZ, the CSSR Government, and all our people devote lasting attention to the development of mutual relations. The negotiations of party and state delegations of the CSSR and the PRB, the broad contacts between the people working in all spheres of political and social life in the two countries are significantly contributing to these efforts. They express the firm conviction that both our countries will successfully take the path of further developing and consolidating friendship and the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian cooperation, at the side of the Soviet Union and in unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA states.

We wish you, dear comrades, and all Bulgarian people many successes in realizing the conclusions of the 12th BCP Congress in building the advanced socialist society.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, also sent Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the PRB a congratulatory telegram.

HONECKER-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR USSR 3 MAY

LD030729 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0625 GMT 3 May 83

[Text] Berlin, 3 May (ADN) -- A GDR party and state delegation, led by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, left this morning for an official friendship visit to the USSR. It was invited by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet Council of Ministers.

The delegation consists of members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, Central Committee secretary; Werner Felfe, Central Committee secretary; Joachim Herrmann, Central Committee secretary; Erich Mielke, GDR minister of state security; and Guenter Mittag, Central Committee secretary. The delegation also includes State Council Deputy Chairmen Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party; Heinrich Homann, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany; and Ernst Mecklenburg, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany; Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front; Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and minister of foreign affairs; Heinrich Toeplitz, deputy chairman of the CDU; and SED Central Committee members Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee, and Egon Winkelmann, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the GDR to the USSR.

The delegation was given a cordial sendoff at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, and members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo and other figures.

Also present were Gerald Gorinovich, Soviet charge d'affaires in the GDR; Army General Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; Colonel General Aleksey Lizichev, member of the Military Council and chief of the group's Political Administration; and Army General Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact in the GDR National People's Army.

WILLI STOPH DISCUSSES GDR-SOVIET RELATIONS

For a 29 April IZVESTIYA publication of an article by Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, entitled "Tested by Time," see the Eastern Europe Section of the 2 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

COURTS HEAR FIRST CASES ON MAY DAY DISRUPTIONS

LD021906 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] The government spokesman has let it be known that the first cases dealing with the attempts to disrupt the May Day celebrations have been put before the courts. The first sentences in summary proceedings have already been passed.

FIVE FRENCH JOURNALISTS ORDERED TO LEAVE 2 MAY

NC021241 Paris AFP in English 1234 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, May 2 (AFP) -- Five French journalists who arrived here with simple tourist visas have been ordered to leave Poland, it was learned here today. Four photographers, including those from the photo agencies GAMMA and SIGMA and a reporter from LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, a left-of-center French weekly news magazine, were apprehended while covering yesterday's Solidarity union rallies here to celebrate May day. They were told to leave Poland today.

Foreign journalists frequently cover news events here without the required special visa because of the bureaucratic difficulties in obtaining one. Although it is forbidden to cover stories with a simple tourist visa -- which can be granted in 24 to 48 hours -- rarely has Poland expelled reporters for doing so.

The expulsion orders came after a correspondent from the U.S. ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency and his Polish interpreter were detained yesterday for four hours after taking pictures of solidarity leader Lech Walesa at his window. Their film was confiscated before they were released.

URBAN ADDRESSES NEWSMEN ON DEMONSTRATIONS

NC031437 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT 3 May 83

[Text] Warsaw, May 3 (AFP) -- The Polish militia held some 1,000 persons for questioning in Sunday's pro-Solidarity demonstrations, releasing most after two or three hours, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said today. He told a news conference that demonstrators considered to have provoked disturbances had been bound over to police courts, adding that the first cases had been disposed of Monday, but not stipulating the results. He said the demonstrators were charged under the Polish penal code and not under state of siege decrees.

Mr Urban said 21 police were injured -- seven requiring hospitalization -- in Sunday demonstrations in Krakow and Nowa Huta, and seven -- one seriously -- in Gdansk. Figures were unavailable on injured demonstrators, he said, adding that means employed by police to disperse demonstrations would not cause injuries.

Questioned about the death in Nowa Huta of Ryszard Smagur, 29-year-old employee of a bookbinding firm, Mr Urban said the man's body had been found in an area where there had been no police intervention. He said police wanted to question four persons who had transported the body.

Mr Urban said counter-demonstrations Sunday had taken place in 15 of Poland's 49 departments, mostly involving only a few dozen demonstrators.

GOVERNMENT ADOPTS PLENUM TASKS SCHEDULE

AU3O1825 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Apr 83 p 2

[PAP report: "The Tasks Facing the State and Economic Administration and Agricultural Service Institutions and Organizations in Implementing the Decisions of the 11th PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The joint PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee plenum on the tasks facing the PZPR and ZSL concerning the development of rural areas and agriculture and the achievement of food self-sufficiency in Poland has raised fundamental political, social, and economic issues whose implementation depends on a growth in agricultural production and on a general development of rural areas.

The "Government Implementation Schedule," which follows up the political schedule published earlier (on 10 February) -- worked out by the PZPR Central Committee Agricultural Department and by the ZSL Supreme Committee -- specifies the tasks adopted in the joint plenum's resolution.

The government schedule describes the complex tasks facing ministries, local administration, economic organizations and cooperative units providing services for rural areas and agriculture.

The activities described in the schedule are to ensure the following:

-- a fundamental reshaping of the national economy to satisfy food needs; this involves in particular land reclamation, fertilizers, mechanization, and water and electricity supplies to agriculture and rural areas;

-- creating the proper economic conditions for agricultural production which would make this production profitable and would guarantee suitable incomes for the agricultural population;

-- making management definitely more economic throughout the food economy, mainly by improving work organization, making better and fuller use of resources already at the disposal of agriculture and the food economy (especially concerning agricultural land, labor forces, and production resources), concentrating investment funds and materials on curbing losses during the entire process of food production, speeding up progress in biological research in agriculture, improving the training of cadres working in the food economy, and raising the level of general education in rural areas.

The tasks contained in the schedule will be divided into the following categories: economic conditions, production resources for agriculture and the food economy, investments, production organization and management efficiency, and education and agricultural progress, this progress also involving the standard of living in agriculture.

I. Economic Conditions

In accordance with the principles of economic reform, the schedule specifies how to improve and enrich economic instruments.

A quick reestablishment of economic ties and relations concerning goods and financial resources between cities and rural areas and industrial plants will bring bilateral advantages. The schedule establishes the following obligations:

-- to introduce effective economic instruments to ensure that the entire national economy develops in a way which favors food production, and to insure that agricultural enterprises as well as services to agriculture and food processing (including fisheries and the dairy industry) develop.

-- The government plenipotentiary for economic reform matters has been placed under an obligation to present, in the first quarter of 1984, proposals on how to improve the economic conditions needed to develop production resources for agriculture and the food economy. In the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Economy, proposals have been prepared on how to change the economic-financial system of agricultural enterprises, agriculture's technical base, and the food processing industry. Proposals have also been prepared on the following:

-- definitely improving the functioning of cooperative organizations active within agriculture and the food economy: proposals in this matter will be examined by the Market Council in the third quarter of this year;

-- introducing a flexible system of fixing prices in the food economy involving fixing the procurement prices of agricultural products by taking into account the procurement costs of these products: the new price fixing system also involves taking into account retail prices in shops, the prices of production resources and the prices of export goods; the State Prices Commission is to present an appropriate draft document with these changes;

-- ensuring the profitability of all branches of agricultural production and equal incomes between agricultural people and nonagricultural people, while taking into account the constant improvement in the way in which agriculture is managed: the methods behind checking work standards will be improved and systematic checks of production costs in agriculture will be introduced;

-- reforming the taxation system in agriculture, which should encourage a growth in agricultural production and greater efficiency in management, an improvement in the use of land and other production factors and an improvement to the structure of agriculture; in the first half of this year, an interministerial team will present proposals on the new taxation system, and these proposals will be the subject of consultations with producers;

-- speeding up biological progress, introducing more quickly the chemical protection of plants and the use of lime in the soil, and improving agricultural technology: it has been decided, among other things, that the ministers of agriculture and the food economy and of finances will present an appropriate draft law on a biological progress fund in the second quarter of this year;

-- ensuring essential resources for improving the reclamation of agricultural land and supplying rural areas with water: in the second quarter of this year, proposals on economic, organizational, and financial solutions are to be examined;

-- activating the trade of agricultural goods and food for the purpose of balancing out turnover with these goods and improving the effectiveness of exports: the Council of Ministers will assess the situation here in the second quarter of this year.

An important role falls on the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy, and the Ministry of Finance, as well as on other central government offices and institutions, the local administration and cooperatives, in the implementation of the most of the tasks that have been mentioned.

II. Production Resources for Agriculture and the Food Economy

The adopted schedule obligates the economic government offices and institutions to:

-- increase the production and supply of technical resources to agriculture and the food economy: the Council of Ministers Planning Commission will assess by the end of this year what possibilities there are for increasing the production capability of industries working for the needs of agriculture, and will present the Council of Ministers with appropriate proposals;

-- ensure the supply of mineral fertilizers and lime to the level specified in the agriculture and food economy development program up to 1990: the Council of Ministers will examine a program for modernizing and reshaping the fertilizers industry in the second quarter of this year;

-- increase the production and supply of chemical protection agents for plants by making maximum use of the existing potential of the pesticides industry and by extending this industry: the program of emergency and long-term activities in this sphere will be examined in the second quarter of this year;

-- extending mechanical and transportation services, especially in those regions where agriculture is scattered: proposals in this sphere will be presented in the third quarter of this year by the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles, and Cooperatives;

-- improving the distribution of agricultural equipment and spare parts and improving stocks of materials and fuels: appropriate action will be undertaken by several government offices as well as by organizations and institutions which serve agriculture;

-- speeding up the development of handicrafts workshops for rural areas and agriculture: an appraisal of the situation in this sphere and appropriate proposals and conclusions will be made by the Government Presidium in the third quarter of this year;

-- improving the system of sowing and animal and plant breeding in order to improve their productivity: while implementing this item in the schedule, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Economy will present a draft law on sowing and plant breeding by the end of this year, and in 1984 it will present draft laws on breeding domestic animals and on protecting the health of animals; action aimed at improving supplies of drugs, veterinary equipment and disinfectants to agriculture will also be undertaken.

Special obligations contained in the schedule and concerning the supply of production resources fall on the Ministries of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, Chemical and Light Industry, and Domestic Trade and Services, as well as on organizations of agriculture circles and rural cooperatives.

III. Investments

According to the joint plenum resolution, an important task will be to allocate 30 percent of total investment outlay to agriculture and the food economy. The following will be the preferred paths of investment:

-- land reclamation and supplying rural areas and agriculture with water;

-- extending the food industry to the extent necessary to achieve the level of food consumption that has been decided on, taking into special consideration neglected branches of the food and agricultural processing industry and the development of processing plants in the regions.

Action will also be undertaken to increase the potential of the agricultural construction industry.

When implementing these investment plans, the most important role falls on the Planning Commission as well as on the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Economy, and other ministries and voivodship offices.

IV. Organizing the Production and Efficiency of Management

The principle of giving equal treatment to all sectors of agriculture finds expression in the government program especially when it comes to economic, legal, and organizational solutions.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic confirming the permanence of private family farms in our country's socioeconomic system should become an important factor in stabilizing and developing these farms and should encourage the young generation in rural areas to take up work in agriculture, with the result that private farming should be activated.

As part of the economic reform, economic ways of increasing the efficiency of farming will be perfected.

In addition, solutions will be made which will make it possible too:

-- make rational use of land, labor, and all production potential by all land users, as well as improve the structure of agriculture: the Food Economy Council will assess the way land belonging to the State Land Fund is sold by the end of this year;

-- create good conditions for developing agriculture in mountainous areas: the Government Presidium will examine proposals on this subject in the third quarter of this year;

-- make use of unused installations: proposals on how to solve this issue will be examined by the Food Economy Council in the second quarter of this year (in other words before the Government Presidium makes the appropriate decisions);

-- effectively implement the law on gardening allotments;

-- make full use of raw materials and by-products during food processing.

The plan of action concerning the above spheres will be presented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy in the final quarter of this year.

Fishing in lakes will be developed and the right conditions will be created for developing sea fishing. In implementing this point, the Government Presidium will examine a fishing development program in the second quarter of this year, while the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy will prepare a draft law on fishing in lakes by the end of this year.

Comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries concerning agriculture and the food economy will be developed.

The above issues will largely be implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Economy. Besides, an important role falls on the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Finance; the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection; the Ministry of Foreign Trade; and the Office of Maritime Economy.

Of special importance in improving the use of agricultural crops will be the introduction of the new system of making contracts and an improvement in the activity of contract and raw material services.

V. Education and Agricultural Progress

Making efficient use of all features which make it possible to increase food production will depend on a growth in the level of general agricultural education and on consistent progress in agriculture. The following have been recognized as having special importance in the schedule:

-- increasing the part played by science in solving the development problems of agriculture and the food economy: the minister of science, higher education, and technology will present practical proposals on the use of research work and on how to apply this work to agriculture in the second quarter of this year;

-- modernizing the education system in agricultural academies and in secondary and professional agricultural schools in order to clearly improve practical skills: teaching curricula and textbooks will therefore be improved;

-- increasing the efficiency of advisory services and of services dealing with contracts and raw materials: the methods used in assessing the work of these services and their cooperation with the scientific and research base of agriculture are meant to be worked out by the end of this year;

-- actions aimed at increasing the production and consumption of plant proteins and of protein contained in milk, fish and eggs: the Government Presidium will assess the effects of this activity in the second quarter of every year.

The implementation of the above-mentioned tasks will depend to a large extent on the activity of scientific circles, on the consistent implementation of the tasks of agricultural services and on the activity of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, and of organizations and institutions which serve agriculture.

VI. The Standard of Living

Improving the standard of living and developing culture in rural areas should curb the outflow of young people from rural areas and make them return. It should also cause an influx of specialists, creative men, doctors, teachers, craftsmen, and so on, all of whom are essential in rural areas. Work is going on right now on a "social security program for rural areas," which covers many aspects of health and social care. It is also intended that a social fund for rural areas be set up.

The principles behind lending support to rural areas will be changed. This should serve to develop folk culture and raise the cultural creativity of the rural population.

In line with the decisions of the joint PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee plenum, the government will present the Sejm of the PPR with annual reports on the state of agriculture and the food economy and reports on the implementation of the agriculture and food economy development program up to 1990, which will be examined by the Sejm in the first half of this year.

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM-PRON MEETING HELD 2 MAY

LD021903 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Today the Government Presidium, chaired by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met the Presidium of the National Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON National Provisional Council, was present. Motions arising from the PRON precongress programmatic-electoral campaign were discussed. During this campaign PRON activists have taken stands on many sociopolitical and economic problems, and submitted many observations and proposals on the functioning of the state and administration and public life in the country.

Attention was drawn to the problems of protection of law observance and civil rights. It was pointed out that parts of the administration are not yet satisfactorily prepared to properly receive the signals that come from society and citizens and practically utulize these signals in the public's interests. The PRON representatives pointed to low participation by non-party members in the administration's executive ranks.

Much attention was devoted to economic reform. The PRON activists noted that society perceives that the reform is not being fully imolemented; that activities for the development of production are not yet sufficiently effective was particularly noted. Local industry continues to make little progress and price and tax policies are not sufficiently understandable to the society.

Today's meeting also discussed methods of speeding up housing construction and of better maintaining and repairing old houses.

The situation in education gives rise to anxiety among the PRON activists. It was stated that Polish education's pedagogical work continues to lag behind its high didactic achievements.

The Government Presidium paid careful attention to the views presented. It was stressed that the government wishes to cooperate with PRON in solving difficult problems in the country and views this movement as a partner of great social and moral authority.

Today's meeting envisaged a discussion of precepts of the act on social consultation and assumptions for the Council of Ministers draft resolution on inspections by the organs of state and economic administration, among other things.

JARUZELSKI ON TASKS IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

AU291537 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Apr 83 p 2

[PAP report on speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, during his 26 April visit to the building sites of new housing settlements in Warsaw]

[Text] Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski said he believed that there are still considerable reserves left in the construction industry and much can also be done to eliminate material losses. However, even in the light of maximum productivity and optimal conditions our growing needs are so great that the current shape of the construction industry will not permit us to satisfy a greater part of these requirements very quickly. We must consider whether, aside from the shape of the industry to date, we should today start extensive building of houses of the hotel-boarding school variety that have a "room with a kitchen" where young married couples, even ones with one child, could live for a few years. The time living in such dwellings could then be taken into account as part of the time they were waiting for a full-size apartment. This may appear to be an unpopular proposal but a room with a kitchen for a while is better than nothing.

Gen Jaruzelski reiterated the initiative he presented during a recent discussion with worker aktivs, that young people should, by working overtime in their plants, collect funds which have been earmarked in advance for their future apartment.

Speaking of exploiting the possibilities behind factory houses, Gen Jaruzelski stated that it is necessary to do everything to make proper use of their expensive equipment. We must also encourage candidates to work in the construction industry by making it possible for them to receive an apartment a little sooner. He also indicated that the measures for economic reform, particularly in the management of materials and equipment, must be very stringent. This corresponds to the activities embarked upon by the ministry. Housing construction is one of the strongest factors influencing the community's frame of mind, General Jaruzelski concluded. We must give people a realistic prospect of receiving their own apartment. The party and the government will do all they can to this end.

Addresses Veterans, Workers

LD302318 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Text] Warsaw 30 April -- The party and state leadership met here today with a large group of work and struggle veterans, merited activists of the working class movement, veterans of World War II and builders of people's Poland. The meeting was attended by PUWP CC First Secretary and Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, Speaker of the Polish SEJM (parliament) Stanislaw Gucwa, members of the Political Bureau and PUWP CC Secretariat, members of the leadership of other political parties and the government.

Gen. Jaruzelski expressed his greatest pleasure at having the opportunity to meet the veterans and his deepest respect for them. He told the meeting about his views on the present international situation and its consequences which concentrate on Poland in a particular way today.

Imperialism has intensified its struggle against the socialist ideology. It is looking for areas in which it might succeed. At present this struggle assumes another aggravated shape as the adversary realizes that the course of things in Poland follows a different road, Gen. Jaruzelski said.

We are beginning to slowly get out of the crisis, both material crisis and the one which occurred in the psyche of the nation. The working class is ever more aware that it is only the party which is this power which shows the right way to secure an authentic and leading position for that class within the nation. Many phenomena also prove that the coming period should bring other favourable changes, Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out.

Against this background the PUWP CC first secretary stressed an extremely weighty importance of this year's May Day holiday and of the next coming months for the life of the country.

We do everything for the party and the working class to enter the period in good revolutionary condition, for the banners to be carried high to demonstrate once more the strength of our cause, the strength of our ideas, he said. By this we will manifest our faithfulness to the generations whose struggle and work make up the victory of socialism.

We rejoice to go with you in the same line in the 1st May march, with you who faced adversities and violence many times in the past, said the general. Simultaneously, I voice the belief that this May Day will give us new strength.

The PUWP CC first secretary assured the veterans that the party and state leadership, fulfilling the honorable duty to the worker cause, would consistently follow this path and would not depart from it.

SEJM COMMISSION QUESTIONS FORMER DEPUTY PREMIERS

LD292003 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Continuing evidence proceedings, the Sejm Commission for Constitutional Accountability has commenced detailed interrogation of the persons included within the deputies' preliminary motion concerning their being brought to constitutional account. Explanations were given today by former Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Tadeusz Pyka. Further interrogations will take place over the next few days.

Former Premier Appears

LD021812 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 2 May -- The Sejm Constitutional Accountability Committee today interrogated former Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz and thus completed hearing persons covered by the deputies' provisional motion on constitutional accountability. On April 30 the committee heard explanations given by former Deputy Prime Minister Jan Szydlak. On May 9 the committee will proceed with hearing witnesses' testimonies.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS RESOLUTION FREEZING PRICES

AU291250 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Apr 83 p 4

[Council of Ministers' Resolution No 52/83 "Concerning the Freezing of Contracted Prices of Market and Investment Goods"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 12 of the law of 26 February 1982 on prices (OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 7, item 52) the following is resolved:

Chapter 1

1. Contracted prices of market and investment goods produced in the country will be frozen during the period from 1 May 1983 to 31 July 1983. These prices cannot be higher than the prices applied as of 30 April 1983.

2. By market and investment goods we mean industrial goods (raw and other materials, semi-finished products, and parts produced in cooperation with other countries) which have been earmarked for manufacturing, investment, repair, and service purposes.

Chapter 2

The regulations of the resolution will be applicable to the sale (delivery) of market and investment goods between units of the socialized economy as well as to the sale of these goods by units of the socialized economy to units of the unsocialized economy.

Chapter 3

The regulations of the resolution do not apply to contracted prices of:

1) nonstandard goods manufactured in single pieces or small numbers in accordance with the technical documentation which has been agreed upon between consumer and retailer,

2) goods manufactured in experimental production.

Chapter 4

In cases when the retailer asks for prices which are not in keeping with the regulations of the resolution, Articles 17 and 18 of the law of 26 February 1982 on prices (OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 7, item 52) will be applied accordingly.

Chapter 5

The resolution is valid as of the date of its publication and will apply until 31 July 1983.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers

TRADE UNION REGISTRATION: FACTS, FIGURES

AU291108 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Apr 83 p 1

[PAP report: "Some 11,274 Trade Unions Registered in the Country"]

[Text] According to the information issued by the press spokesman of the Ministry of Justice, the country's voivodship courts had received 12,900 applications for trade union registration by 20 April. During the same period, courts had examined 11,374 applications (over 88 percent) registering 11,274 trade union organizations at plants.

In the remaining cases, the applications were either postponed (owing to irregularities related to the legality of the application itself or the accompanying documents, which cannot be straightened out) or proceedings were discontinued.

The greatest number of new trade unions was registered in the voivodships of: Katowice -- 973; Warsaw -- 484; Olsztyn -- 480; Opole -- 474; Szczecin -- 437; Bydgoszcz -- 371; Gdansk -- 331.

The noticeably accelerated way in which registration proceedings have been dealt with by the courts, made possible above all by the recent regulations concerning the formal procedure of applying for registration, is an expression of the concern of judicial bodies to facilitate the commencement of normal activities by the emerging trade union organizations.

OLECHOWSKI APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO FRG

LD021808 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Ernest Kucza to the post of undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has recalled from this post Tadeusz Olechowski in connection with his appointment to the post of Polish ambassador to the FRG.

RAKOWSKI SPEECH, LIVING STANDARD CORRECTIONS

Portions of the items entitled "Rakowski on May Day Disturbances, Papal Visit" and "TRYBUNA LUDU on Average Standard of Living' on pages G 14-15 of the 29 April Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT were not published due to a printing failure. They are herewith republished.

Report on Rakowski Speech

AU281510 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 83 p 2

[PAP report on speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at a meeting with party aktivs from the Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta and trade union activists and representatives of Nowa Huta plants at the Lenin steelworks on 25 April]

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that the Polish crisis is not only a breakdown of the economy but a crisis of social and often national awareness.

The irrational moods which were inspired by many Solidarity activists undermined the public's trust of the authorities, the party and the government, shattered our faith in the people's own strength, and caused apathy. It will be years before our dreams correspond to the real conditions under which they will actually be implemented, M. Rakowski said. At the moment, the main issue in Poland is a return to a realistic way of thinking. A large economic base and qualified cadres would provide the opportunity to overcome the crisis but this still remains to be fully exploited at the moment.

M. Rakowski focused much attention on the underground activities of Soldiarity bodies, especially on activities aimed at a destabilization on May Day. He reminded us that only 2 years ago Solidarity activists were inciting us to boycott the May Day celebrations. Today they are calling on us to go out onto the streets on 1 May, to make a counter demonstration and to create distubrances. To what end? In order to prove that there is constant unrest in Poland and to rouse social emotions again so as to draw Western countries' attention to Poland. There will be no tolerance for those who want to undermine the country's stability, M. Rakowski said.

Replying to the question about the expected effects of the pope's visit to Poland, M. Rakowski said that this visit, as a religious pilgrimage made by the head of the Catholic Church, should also intensify social peace. Pope John Paul II has also expressed the hope that his visit will have such an effect.

Aside from M. Rakowski, Ministers Stanislaw Ciosek and Zdzislaw Krasinski also touched on many economic and social issues and ones concerning wages and prices.

Average Standard of Living

AU271306 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Zofia Krzyzanowska article: "Income, Expenditure, Consumption"]

[Summary] "Investigations into family budgets carried out by the Main Statistical Office show that the average monthly income per person in working families rose from about Z4090 in 1981 to about Z6600 in 1982, in other words by about 60 percent. During the same period, incomes in retired families rose from about Z3250 to about Z5700, in other words by about 74 percent."

The population group earning up to Z5,000 per person contains almost 27 percent of all working families and about 34 percent of families of old age and disability pensioners. "Notable here is the fact that about 1 percent of working families and over 4 percent of families of old age and disability pensioners have very low incomes, up to Z3,000." However, the population group earning over Z8,000 per person contains about 21 percent of working families and 9 percent of pensioner families.

The gap between the incomes of working families and those of pensioner families narrowed in 1982 because benefits rose more quickly than wages.

In 1982, living costs for families rose by 102 percent, and for pensioner families they rose by 108 percent. "As a result of greater price increases than increases in wages and benefits, real income per person in working families has dropped by one-fifth, and in families with old-age and disability pensioners it has dropped by 17 percent."

Most of the extra income last year was spent on food. Food expenditure in working families rose from 36 percent of total expenditure in 1981 to 48 percent in 1982, whereas in pensioner families this percentage rose from 48 percent in 1981 to almost 60 percent in 1982. Working families spent 126 percent more on food in 1982 than in 1981, while pensioner families spent 117 percent more.

"While seeking confirmation of our own behavior patterns in the Main Stastical Office figures, we must not forget that, as with all collective results, they cannot fully reflect individual behavior patterns." However, this does not diminish the importance of family budget surveys for the purpose of determining trends and examining the effects of social policy.

BRIEFS

VISITOR FROM USSR -- Yuriy Kashlev, head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, has visited Poland to discuss current problems and to exchange practical knowledge of information work with his counterparts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. He was received by Jerzy Majka, head of the PZPR Central Committee Information Department, and by Jozef Wiejacz, vice minister of foreign affairs. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 2 AU]

MSZMP DELEGATION VISIT -- A delegation of the MSZMP Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences visited Poland on 12-16 April to attend the symposium entitled "The Party's Tasks During the Implementation of the Economic Reform." The Hungarian delegation was received by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Manfred Gorywoda. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 2 AU]

CHANGES AT MINISTERIAL POSTS -- Warsaw 27 April -- At the motion of the minister of science, higher schools and technology the prime minister today recalled Jerzy Sablik from the under-secretaryship at the ministry. In another development, the prime minister has appointed Waclaw Janas under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Culture and Art. He replaces Eugeniusz Mielcarek who will take up another work. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 27 Apr 83 LD]

MINING INDUSTRY RESULTS -- Warsaw 30 April -- In the four months of the current year, the overall output of coal in Poland was over 63.2 million tonnes. The April wins came close to 15.7 million tonnes, nearly 550 thousand tonnes more than planned. The daily increase in labour productivity per capita recorded by the mining industry this year was 45 kilogrammes. This favourable situation in coal production has allowed for the stepping up of exports of Polish coal. During the first four months of the current year over 10.7 million tonnes of coal have been exported, nearly two million tonnes more than in a corresponding period of the last year. This rhythmical and efficient labour recorded by the mining industry has favourably assisted the results achieved by the power industry. Since the beginning of the current year, power plants in Poland have generated over 43.7 billion kilowatt-hours fulfilling their planned tasks in 104 per cent. This has allowed not only to meet the demands of energy consumers at home but also to export over 0.5 billion kilowatt-hours of energy. Works continue on the construction of seven new hard coal mines and the biggest in Poland fuel and energy complex in Belchatow. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 30 Apr 83 LD]

EMIL BOBU ADDRESSES MAY DAY CIVIC RALLY

AU301810 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/4/1983 -- Speaking at the great civic rally organized in Bucharest on the eve of May Day, Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP emphasized that on this festive occasion the working people of Romania reiterated their full solidarity with the workers everywhere, with all progressive and democratic forces in their fight for social and national freedom, for independence and sovereignty, for collaboration and peace among all the nations of the world.

The celebration of May Day this year coincides with the 90th foundation anniversary of the social democratic party of the workers of Romania, a party prompted by the most advanced theory of the epoch, the scientific socialism, the speaker pointed out, showing that the RCP, firm and consistent continuator of the most advanced traditions of fight of the working class, of the Romanian people, leads today with wisdom and revolutionary firmness the great oeuvre of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and the communist system in Romania.

In his address, Emil Bobu presented an extensive balance sheet of the achievements scored by the Romanian people in all the domains of socialist construction, mentioning that in the first four months of the ongoing year new results were obtained in the fulfillment of the planned provisions, of the major tasks of the current stage. In behalf of the party and state leadership, of the RCP general secretary, Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, personally, the speaker most warmly congratulated the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all working people, irrespective of nationality, and wished them new and [word indistinct] successes in the accomplishment of the targets set by the Twelfth RCP Congress.

Stressing that by fulfilling the objectives she set to herself, Romania makes her contribution to the increase of the prestige and influence of socialism in the world, Emil Bobu, also presented the main directions of the active and constructive foreign policy of broad collaboration among all the nations, of peace and security promoted by Romania.

Romania, the speaker said, focuses her foreign activity on the development and deepening of the mutually advantageous collaboration, of the friendship and solidarity with all the socialist countries, with the neighbor ones first of all. In this respect, we work for the expansion of commercial exchanges, of the economic, technological and scientific cooperation with all CMEA member states, with the other socialist countries, for the consolidation of their unity and cohesion, of their solidarity and collaboration. She diversifies and strengthens the relations of friendship and collaboration with the developing countries, both on an economic and political plane, further deepens the participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, has relations with the developed capitalist states, with all the countries, irrespective of social system.

Emil Bobu reiterated Romania's well-known stand on the achievement of detente, disarmament, securi[illegible] and peace in the world. On this festive day, Emil Bobu went on, the working clas[illegible] and the Romanian socialist nation address their salute of militant solidarity to the participants in the great peace movements the world over and express their conviction that, acting in unity, the peoples are able to bar the way to war, to impose to governments and parliaments measures conducive to stopping the dangerous course towards tension and armings, to halting the imperialist tendencies of dividing the spheres of influence, to ensuring a free access to the values of universal science and culture the progress and prosperity of peoples.

The Romanian chairman of the commission, Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister, had interviews and conducted talks on the expansion and deepening of the economic cooperation and commercial exchanges between the two countries with Maurice Nyagumbo, minister of mines; Bernard Chidzero, minister of finance, economic planning and development; Enos Nkala, minister of national supply; and Richard Hove, minister of trade and commerce of Zimbabwe.

Cooperation Protocol

AU301841 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Text] Harare (AGERPRES) 30/4/1983 -- The first session of the Governmental Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation between Romania and Zimbabwe analyzed how the decisions and agreements covenanted in Bucharest between the leaders of the two countries, Nicolae Ceausescu and Robert Mugabe, were carried into effect and possibilities of a more powerful development of the bilateral economic cooperation and commercial exchanges. Specific actions and measures were set for the deepening of the cooperation in domains of mutual interest, especially in mining, geology, industry, agriculture, transports and telecommunications, technological assistance and cadre training. Possible forms and means of cooperation were defined, apt to contribute to the economic development of the two friendly countries. Measures were also adopted for the increase and diversification of commercial exchanges and economic mechanisms which could stimulate this increase were also established.

At the close of the proceedings, the protocol of the first session of the commission was signed by Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the commission and Simon Muzenda, deputy prime minister, chairman for Zimbabwe of the joint commission.

CEAUSESCU CABLES KARMAL ON NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY

AU280858 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Apr 83 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], head of the Revolution Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul:

On the occasion of the national anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the fifth anniversary of the April Revolution, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf I want to convey to you warm congratulations and best wishes for peace, prosperity and progress for the friendly Afghan people.

I want to express my conviction that the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, between the RCP and the PDPA, will further develop continuously, in the mutual interests of the Romanian and Afghan peoples and of international peace and cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH RECEIVES TANJUG EDITOR

LD021424 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0715 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Washington, 2 May (TANJUG) -- U.S. Vice President George Bush expressed the view here today that U.S. relations with Yugoslavia are "significant."

"We respect Yugoslavia, its independence and sovereignty, and will continue to exert efforts to promote relations with it." This was stated by Vice President Bush during a conversation with Mihailo Saranovic, chief and executive editor of TANJUG, whom he received at the White House. Saranovic is visiting the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Government.

U.S. Vice President Bush also said that on several earlier occasions, he has had very good and open talks with Yugoslav friends, which he would "continue with pleasure."

During the meeting, George Bush expressed optimism concerning surmounting specific Middle East problems, which U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has intensively discussed over the past few days with leaders of several countries in the region. "We are encouraged, though there still are many problems left," Vice President Bush stated, adding that U.S. President Reagan's plan for the Middle East "is not dead." We see it as the framework for negotiations and for finding a solution for the Palestinian question, he added.

Vice President Bush placed special emphasis on the need for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon and said that the prospects for this are very good.

As for world economic problems, the U.S. vice president considers the forthcoming sixth UNCTAD conference in Belgrade significant. He positively assessed the fact that the U.S. economy was on the road to recovery after a long halt and the "normal functioning of such a gigantic economy" would enable the United States to involve itself more fully and directly in the effort to help others overcome their own economic difficulties.

The United States supports the efforts made by the IMF to help countries in difficult economic circumstances, and activities in the United Nations in the economic field, and considers "that the world must address itself to the fundamental causes of poverty," U.S. Vice President George Bush stated at the end of his conversation with Mihailo Saranovic, chief and executive editor of TANJUG.

DRAGOSAVAC RETURNS FROM MOZAMBIQUE CONGRESS

LD021959 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 2 May (TANJUG) -- Dr Dusan Dragosavac, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, who led the LCY delegation at the fourth congress of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party, returned to our country today. At Zagreb airport he was welcomed by Anjelko Jukic, executive secretary of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium.

On May Day, we ardently call the working people the world over, all the peoples to spare no effort, to make their full contribution to the enlargement and strengthening of the great peace, understanding and collaboration front, to the triumph of mankind's lofty ideals, the speaker said in conclusion.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP OBSOLETE IN ROMANIA

AU021639 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Apr 83 pp 1, 5

[Editorial article: "The Creative Development by the RCP of the Marxist Theory Concerning the Political Power of the Workers Class. The Concept of Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the State of Workers' Revolutionary Democracy," by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and vice president of the State Council]

[Excerpts] Marx viewed proletarian dictatorship as a form of state power evolving along a path of a great democratic opening toward a new relationship between the forms of exercising authority and those generating consensus, one that is closer to the interests of society's members. Emphasizing that the socialist state should constitute a "governing of the people by the people," Marx also stressed that it must in time become an apparatus of producers' self-administration. It is in this context that one should place Marx' conclusion concerning the gradual disappearance of the state and of political power.

In his theoretical theses, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu approaches the problem of the political power of the workers class and of the socialist state from the viewpoint of the intrinsic correlation between the general laws of building socialism and the specific realities prevailing in Romania society; he does not view the state as a historical, immovable classification, but as one that changes in step with the changes occurring in society, in both the economic and social realms, and in its infrastructure. As our party secretary general stressed, to grasp and master phenomena in this area one must take into account the general nature of changes and the fact that they affect both the contents and essence of the state, and its functions and specific forms of manifestation.

The renunciation of the concept of proletarian dictatorship is rooted in various undisputable realities of modern-day Romania. To begin with, the proletariat as such no longer exists in our society in the classical definition of the term as "exploited class lacking means of production;" what we have is a workers class that holds both the means of production and the state power, together and at the head of the other categories of working people. Secondly, the state power in our country today does not have the nature of a dictatorship, of the domination of one class over one or more other classes, because the relations among the classes in Romania are not based on antagonism but on friendship and cooperation. And finally, all social classes and categories in Romanian society bear socialist traits, and are linked by a community of interests which tends to bring them closer together and gradually to homogenize them.

In these conditions, the state has become a new body of power of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of the socialist nation, in which all the people participate in leading the society and exercise their power democratically, acting to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and to advance toward communism.

I hope it clearly emerges from the above that the adoption of the thesis of a state of revolutionary workers' democracy is not just a change of name but the expression of an objective necessity, brought about by the profoundly revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romania during the period of socialist construction.

Similarly, the transition from proletarian dictatorship to a state of workers' democracy was not and could not have been proclaimed on a given date, because it constitutes a process of development and of continual perfecting.

Naturally, the fundamental changes in the contents and essence of the Romanian socialist state have also brought changes in the functions of the state, whose nature develops and is adapted to each stage of the socialist construction and which must naturally be viewed in the light of their dialectical dynamics and interdependence and not as isolated and static. Thus, the function of defending socialist property, the law and the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens must not be mistaken for the old repressive function of class oppression, which became obsolete after the elimination of the exploiting classes and the forging of the moral-political unity of the people around the party.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's views on the dialectical relationship between the RCP and the socialist state are of a great theoretical and practical importance for the nature of the socialist political power. The state, its supreme legislative and executive bodies, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, constitutes the supreme power in our socialist society. The law and decisions taken by the state bodies in accordance with the law are compulsory for all the citizens.

The leading role of the party in our socialist society is not meant to replace state bodies or to detract in any way from the responsibility of state bodies toward the law and the people.

In the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism the state will be subjected to additional changes. Combating the mistaken interpretation of the thesis concerning the disappearance of the state at a given stage of development, i.e. under communism, a viewpoint that may lead to minimizing the role of the state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his speech at the RCP Central Committee plenum of 1-2 June 1982 that "...the state will continue to play an important role in the social organization and in the development of society for a long time to come, in the communist society, too."

REPORTAGE ON GHEORGHE PETRESCU TRIP TO ZIMBABWE

Meeting With President

AU291220 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1145 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Excerpt] Harare AGERPRES 29/4/1983 -- Messages were exchanged in Harare between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Canaan Sodindo Banana, during the latter's reception of Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Romanian-Zimbabwean Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation.

Trade Talks

AU291837 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Harare AGERPRES 29/4/1983 -- Questions related to the further development of the economic cooperation and of commercial exchanges in various fields of activity, in the light of the talks and agreements reached at top level between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Robert Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, are the themes approached during the works of the first session of the Governmental Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation between Romania and the Republic of Zimbabwe, held these days in Harare.

COMMODITY TRADE WITH ALBANIA 'UNSATISFACTORY'

AU021406 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 83 p 2

[TANJUG report]

[Text] Commodity trade between Yugoslavia and Albania in the first 3 months of this year amounted to about $17 million, approximately $9 million of which is accounted for by Yugoslav exports. At the session at the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia yesterday, where these data were announced, this volume was assessed as unsatisfactory, because the trade which has been agreed upon is being realized too slowly. The rate of mutual deliveries will have to be improved so that this year's plan of $126 million can be realized, and in this connection the values of imports and exports should be equalized.

Additional difficulties are being caused by the reduction of Albanian deliveries of electricity. The Albanian side has informed the Community of Yugoslav Electric Power Industry (JUGEL) that no electricity will be delivered during May due to low water levels in the reservoirs and frequent breakdowns of hydroelectric powerplants. Electricity deliveries are one of the main "items" of Albanian exports to Yugoslavia. The possibilities of compensating for this with some other products in order to prevent the consequent reduction of Yugoslav exports (the Albanian attitude being that mutual deliveries should be totally balanced -- even month by month) will be discussed by delegations of the two countries in Tirana at the beginning of May.

BORBA REPORTS PLANINC TALKS WITH EEC'S HAFERKAMP

AU021844 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 83 p 1

[Excerpts] Brussels, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, began her visit to the EEC headquarters this morning by holding talks with Wilhelm Haferkamp, vice president of the EEC Executive Commission.

Shortly before 1000 hours, Milka Planinc and members of the Yugoslav delegation arrived at the office of the Executive Commission where they were welcomed by Vice President Wilhelm Haferkamp who is in charge of the EEC's international relations. Following the greetings and the mutual introductions of their associates, Haferkamp and Milka Planinc began their talks which, as has been learned, mainly concerned economic relations between Yugoslavia and the EEC.

During the 1-hour talks, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, first informed Haferkamp on the stabilization program which is being carried out in the Yugoslav economy to increase its stability, improve its internal structure, and enable it to be more completely included in the international division of labor. On this occasion Milka Planinc emphasized that the realization of these programs depends to a great extent on foreign relations which should, above all, make possible an increase of exports.

"Yugoslavia does not intend to be a permanent debtor," Milka Planinc said, "and for this reason we are striving to establish stable relations with foreign partners." In this context she especially stressed that our country wants to advance its cooperation with the EEC on a firm and long-term basis within the framework of regionally balanced foreign relations.

In Milka Planinc's opinion, the economy, trade, and tourism are the three main fields in which further relations between Yugoslavia and the European Community should be built.

At the same time, she added that "the agreement which recently came into effect provides scope for strengthening cooperation in these as well as other fields."

According to the hosts' and our delegation's appraisals, the talks between Haferkamp and Planinc were very friendly and constructive and reflected a mutual readiness to contribute to further developing cooperation.

Following her meeting with Haferkamp, Milka Planinc held talks with Gaston Thorn, president of the European Commission. As is pointed out, Milka Planinc and Gaston Thorn exchanged views on the achieved level of cooperation and the possibilities for its intensification and further expansion.

PLANINC REVIEWS OPINION POLL, ECONOMIC SITUATION

AU281821 Belgrade NIN No 1685 in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 83 pp 6-11

[Jug Grizelj report on interview which Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, granted to Mirko Djekic, NIN chief and responsible editor; Velizar Zecevic, editor of domestic column; and editor Jug Grizelj on 11 April -- no place given]

[Excerpts] [Question] You have seen, Comrade President, the results of our public opinion poll in connection with the work of the Federal Executive Council. We believe that you will agree that, judging by this opinion poll, Yugoslavs have a much better opinion of the work of the Federal Executive Council than certain members of the Federal Executive Council. How do you explain this phenomenon?

[Answer] The results of your little public opinion poll have pleasantly surprised me, too, and they represent a great obligation for the Federal Executive Council. True, I would not say "more than members of the Federal Executive Council themselves," but there is still courage in the present Federal Executive Council. We have not yet given up. I have been thinking about how to explain the results of your opinion poll. First of all, I believe that our people are nonetheless following the developments throughout the world, they know that the entire world is in crisis and that we are not the only ones having difficulties, and it is perhaps that they place this Yugoslav situation of ours within this context, and the same goes for the Federal Executive Council.

Second, I would say that the public's conviction that results from your opinion poll is that the Federal Executive Council has contributed to a sharper assessment of our contemporary moment, to perceiving more realistically our situation and that this has been done not only so that the Federal Executive Council and the federal organs have a clearer picture of our situation, but so that our situation is clearer to the broad public. I believe that the conclusion could be drawn from your opinion poll that Yugoslavia's citizens understand that the Federal Executive Council has a very difficult task and that it was elected and began work in a very difficult time. For this reason, I also accept the results of your opinion poll as an encouragement for the Federal Executive Council to persist adequately in dealing with the present situation. This is my guess; I do not know what else I could say.

However, your opinion poll also shows that people are very realistic in assessing the possibilities of the Federal Executive Council and that they understand that the Federal Executive Council is a part of the whole, not only a part of all organs and organizations of the federation, but of the entity of our social system and that its obligations and possibilities are significant; but, nevertheless, that the Federal Executive Council cannot do everything itself.

In this connection, let me say something else. I am pleased that the public has accepted with sympathy and approval the overall efforts of the Federal Executive Council not to hide difficulties, to overtly present them to the public. I believe that only in this way, openly and hiding nothing, can we communicate with the public.

[Question] You have noticed in the opinion poll that the largest number of reproaches to the work of the Federal Executive Council was because it has allowed price increases which are too large and because it has failed to normalize supply. Has the Federal Executive Council underestimated these two problems or does this mean that the consequences cannot be removed until the causes are removed?

[Answer] I would not say that we have underestimated these problems. In our country, economic instability and disturbed relations with foreign countries have been the causes of what is happening: Production is lagging and there is a shortage of goods, while a poor utilization of capacities, along with unchanged general costs, reduces productivity and makes production more expensive. One of the causes of our problems is also too much overall social consumption, and the pressure on prices is then only a consequence of these problems. Problems are such that they cannot be overcome in 1 year. These problems can be concealed by administrative measures, they can even be pushed aside for a brief period, but objective laws continue to operate and they will find room to come forth in the form of inflation or a shortage of goods. The scope for maneuver of the Federal Executive Council and others who make decisions on this is very reduced. Because of a shortage of foreign exchange we have no possibilities to supply the market with imports and to "calm" it. The situation is now such that efforts are being made to compensate all uneconomic operations in development, production, and in society in general through prices, instead of prices influencing the abolishment of what is uneconomic. Our entire wisdom and skill is needed to find a correct measure to control consequences, and to persistently pursue an economic policy which will remove the causes for this pressure on prices.

Price Increases, Shortages...

It is necessary to find a measure now that combines price control and a gradual way out of a strict price freeze. Generally, we now allow price increases where we must, where the administrative regulations applied for a number of years have led to great disparities, to making something seem cheap which in fact is not. This is in accordance with the economic policy adopted for this year. However, pressure is now being exerted on prices which threatens to disturb our plans and excessively jeopardize the people's living standard.

As regards supply, you have seen that there was a discussion and dilemmas in the SFRY Assembly as to whether we can or cannot normalize supply by the end of the year, at least with the necessary products which are now in short supply. In the last NIN issue, you yourselves mentioned that only those who have real insight into our -- particularly foreign exchange -- troubles can assess whether or not we were able to solve problems of supply. I want to say clearly that this is not a matter of good will alone, on the part of the Federal Executive Council or anyone else. And what we have done so far to solve the problems of the supply of cooking oil, medicines, sugar, and gasoline, was done at the expense of the expected inflow of foreign exchange which will come in the summer, and these funds were given as an advance payment by the National Bank of Yugoslavia from its reserves and partially by producers, or rather their commercial banks.

There is no doubt that these are priority problems. But we would need about $1.3 billion for a more complete normalization of supply this year. Do we have that amount? In our situation, this represents a very large sum. We have succeeded in securing within the limits of our tight and strained foreign exchange balance what is the most important for the total amount of about $450 million. Our possibilities are limited.

[Question] The largest number of criticisms expressed in the opinion poll concern the slowness in reaching accords. Do you agree with the opinion that, in a federal and decentralized state such as ours, there should be more discipline and unity than in a unitarian state?

[Answer] I completely agree with the opinion that more discipline is needed in the system of a federal and -- I emphasize -- decentralized state in which decisions are made at all levels from the basic organization of associated labor and upward to the Federation. Discipline is needed in a society in any event, but our system really requires extraordinary discipline and responsibility.

I want to say this: I could sense it before but now the experience of work in the Federal Executive Council has confirmed for me the fact that, following the adoption of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, in building up the self-managing system, in struggling for associations of the basic organizations of associated labor and in creating the conditions for mastering work conditions, we neglected those functions in our system which must continue to be the functions in our system or its institutions. What do I have in mind? A system in which the decisions on development, production, and all types of spending are made in countless places must have a functioning mechanism which ensures that that which does not exist is not spent at any decisionmaking level or in the society as a whole either in foreign exchange or dinar value. We have neglected this function of the state. I would say that we now have a reverse situation. Now it is still the Federal Executive Council and the organs of the Federation that are taking concrete measures and are thereby involving themselves in concrete and great material decisions and in the work conditions of the individual groups and work organizations. We have failed to build the relations which would enable self-management to begin to live in relation to the key issues and to freely develop and associate and, at the same time, to ensure the existence of an effective mechanism which would be able to prevent anyone from spending what does not exist, a mechanism which would monitor the incomes of everyone at all times and prevent any spending in excess of that income. In this connection I do not have in mind the inspection services which appear on the scene only after the event, but rather a preventive mechanism of the National Bank and the Social Accounting Service. If the situation were clear in this respect and if the rights of the organizations of associated labor and the duties of the state were clearly determined, then it would also be easier to reach accords.

At the same time, there is a great deal of talk among the public about those matters on which no accord has yet been reached, the matters on which it is difficult to reach an accord. What is usually involved in this connection are the issues for which it is difficult to find the right solutions and which, by their nature, make coordination difficult.

Naturally, it is easy to say: Accords must be reached more quickly. But an accord is only an accord and, to reach it, it is necessary to weigh everything, all arguments and reasons.

Naturally, whenever what is involved is what we call subjective reasons, particularism, encapsulation, and lack of sense for common interests, then, I think, it is really necessary to place matters before the public. In this connection I think that recently the overall responsibility, among other things, also for accords has noticeably increased.

To sum up my answer to this question: I think that it is not enough to say that accord should be reached more quickly. We must realistically find the right basis for agreements and for solving problems.

[Question] Considering the results of our opinion poll, it can be said that the most pessimistic feature of the poll is the fact that as many as 40 percent of respondents think that it is uncertain when we will achieve economic stabilization. Are we sufficiently aware of a possible apathy among the people and of their demobilization?

[Answer] First of all, I want to say something else: In view of the fact that the entire world is passing through a crisis and that this crisis has lasted longer than had been anticipated, we must understand that we cannot expect to achieve some kind of complete stability as long as the right solution is not found for the world too. You can see how all those blows from the world situation have affected us. In some instances we were helpless and in others we reacted too slowly.

We do not know whether, in view of current world trends, there will be new blows. But it is for this reason that we must put in order and stabilize what is within our power in order to be less vulnerable to outside blows. But there is no world solution which could ensure our stability if we continue to spend excessively, if we continue to incur new debts but not to export and, at the same time, we continue to use new credits for spending.

And now directly in relation to the question about apathy: This would be the most dangerous development. I must admit that I am now less able than before to visit factories and other places but I must say that, whenever I do visit a factory, including even a factory with the greatest difficulties and problems, I come away with greater courage and confidence than from some of our sessions. Naturally, a loss of self-confidence among our citizens and their demobilization would be the most unfavorable development. I am deeply convinced that we are not in this situation. Of course, the people could become demoralized if we created the illusion that quick solutions are possible overnight and if we failed to open up future prospects on the basis of the course and the policy which our people have accepted along the line of further development of self-management and of brotherhood, unity, and equality of all peoples and nationalities. We have great possibilities. These are the facts: We have great production capacities, and some of them are still unutilized; we have many qualified cadres; and we have scientific and other institutions. All in all, we have great potentials and in this disrupted world, we are not exactly the "worst case" as regards the economy. But all of us must pull together more strongly.

[Question] The most frequent message of our respondents to the Federal Executive Council is: "Persist in what you have begun." Does not this message suggest that people fear that you might yield under pressures and in face of problems?

[Answer] There is sufficient strength and potential in the Federal Executive Council.

We are ready for even greater battles in connection with the strategic issues. The greatest disappointment and failure for me personally and for the entire Federal Executive Council would be if we failed to initiate and carry out at least a part of the essential changes. In that event it would make no sense to work so hard. No, our desire to persist and our responsibility are very strong, and if at times the situation compels us to adopt some measures overnight, I think that we are succeeding in keeping them basically in accord with society's strategic goals.

[Question] Many respondents say that the Federal Executive Council must be freed from "pressures" and from "fear." Do you and your colleagues in the Federal Executive Council feel any fear?

[Answer] Neither I nor my comrades in the Federal Executive Council sleep soundly, especially when situations are difficult. But this is not fear.

[Question] And pressures?

[Answer] The pressures that we experience are the pressures of objective difficulties. Our situation really is difficult. As regards the subjective difficulties, I have enough courage to clash with them.... However, you journalists probably imagine that there are some kind of [power] centers and that the Federal Executive Council wants one thing and those centers something else. No, the relations are not of this kind. Confrontations and explanations do occur, but then in the end we coordinate our views. Real different interests do exist and we have talked about that before. Different views exist also in the SFRY Assembly but at times this difference in views occurs because we have failed to correctly and sufficiently explain our positions while, at other times, there are arguments which we must consider more carefully and then find joint solutions. Furthermore, the fact is that the belief still persists that solutions will always be found "up there" in the Federal Executive Council. What is still frequently believed in the basic organizations of associated labor, in communes, in banks and in the republics is the following: I can draw back and there is always someone "up there" who will solve all that. We are constantly saying that we must rid ourselves of these illusions that there are some foreign exchange funds, some means or some solutions which can be found somewhere "up there."

[Question] In many commentaries on the work of the Federal Executive Council the same remark is always made: This Federal Executive Council and its president have said from the very beginning that they will wage a struggle for self-management and for a reinstitution of economic laws, while as the result of circumstances your government has introduced the most measures and administration. Does this mean that at the beginning, "while you still had a smile on your face," you had unrealistic assessments about what circumstances you were entering?

[Answer] Basically, I have nonetheless known what situation we were entering. There were well-meaning comrades who advised me: As long as accounts are not clear do not take over the duty. However, it was clear to me that the first of our tasks was to make the accounts clear. I do not think that someone intentionally did not want to reveal accounts. No, these things have accumulated through years, a short-term view was taken, without a view toward the future.

For instance, what we immediately wanted to know was: We cannot pursue a policy unless we know exactly how large our debts are, how much we must repay annually, and what we can expect in this respect in the next few years. This means that we simultaneously embarked on solving problems, but we also made efforts to have a picture of the situation.

And now, about the criticism that "the orientation to self-management and administrative regulations do not go together." This is true in principle and we stand by this orientation. But the administrative measures that we have taken in these 300 days should be seriously analyzed. It is true that there have been administrative measures but, facing our difficult situation not only in 1983 but in the coming few years also, we had no other solution but that of quick intervention. There was no time: It was necessary to close those open valves through which the dinar funds that were not available were pouring out and it was necessary to make quick decisions and close the channels to prevent all those who had no financial backing from incurring foreign debts. Thus, this was the purpose of some of the measures.

And the measures which we have adopted in connection with the resolution and after it may also appear at first glance as being administrative. But, essentially, are they really? Some of them are purely economic regulations. In our situation where the general allotments of resources at many decisionmaking levels are still a dominant element, we have been compelled to change things around. You see that our situation is economically completely distorted: All the "upper" structures are somehow meeting their investment, public, and communal expenditures whereas the economy virtually operates on credits and turnover funds and consequently a part of personal incomes is paid out of credits. This means that relations must be resolutely reversed. The proposed law now passing through the assembly procedure should solve the problem of turnover funds. If we fail to see the entire concept, then the first impression is that this law administratively regulates the turnover funds, something that is the right of the basic organization of associated labor, according to the Constitution. However, in view of the general shortage of funds, the concept of this law is aimed at beginning to change the situation and ensuring that production will have priority in using solid resources.

[Question] It is often suggested that the Federal Executive Council should address itself to the public more often whenever, for instance, it finds itself in a blocked situation, whenever the procedures in reaching accords are excessively protracted and whenever its normal work is hampered by localism and the like. Do you think that the Federal Executive Council should make its work more public?

[Answer] As regards the public, I think that the Federal Executive Council is addressing itself to the public either through the Assembly or through statements by its own members.

We are now in the process of working for an accord with the republican and provincial executive councils on the methods of putting on a sound basis the foreign credits incurred in the period prior to the end of 1982 when the credits were incurred according to a completely different system than at present and when the republics and provinces were entitled to have deficits and to incur debts without financial backing. We are on the way to solving this problem. But what could we achieve by publicly blaming a republic, a province, or a work organization for not meeting its foreign exchange commitments when it has no resources to pay them, when it has no foreign exchange inflow?

It is clear to all of us that for years we have been accepting foreign exchange and dinar commitments on the basis of wrong relations. However, all this cannot now be solved by some purely mathematical calculations, but only through patient work, accords, and joint solutions which will be the least painful.

[Question] It has been more and more frequently suggested that the stabilization program should be speeded up somehow and that it should be simplified to make it clear to everyone.

[Answer] Yes, it is also my feeling that we should come out with a short program combining economic policy and the broadest social action.

[Question] One of the criticisms of the Federal Executive Council is that it is too restrictive and not sufficiently offensive.

[Answer] I do not at all believe in a successful development on the basis of restrictions. I resolutely maintain that. Nor do I believe in a development in which society is spending excessively and spending by incurring debts without increasing production and exports. It is clear that we cannot continue to tighten our belts indefinitely. The right solution for us must be to increase production, improve the utilization of our capacities, and create the conditions for raising the social and private standard of living. But all this can only be achieved through growth and an upsurge in production. And all this is taking place in a situation which is unfavorable for us both in the world and at home. Our goal is to catch our breath and move forward from the situation in which we are now. There is no dilemma in this connection: No one has ever pulled himself out of difficulties by restrictions; nor will this country. The question is only how to provide opportunities for production to start moving and, at the same time, how to avoid mistakes as well as increased spending without financial backing.

[Question] In recent weeks, there has been a great deal of talk about foreign credits but now many things are unclear to our public. Has something snagged in this connection and what is happening in general?

[Answer] As regards the foreign credits, there are difficulties but no unknown elements. I think that the entire matter is successfully approaching completion. In this context I want to say, above all, that mutual interest has been found in all this. The fact is that, judging by the results at the end of 1982, in the first quarter we would not have been able to meet our foreign commitments and, at the same time, start production rolling again. The calculations in this respect are perfectly clear. As regards the inflow of foreign exchange, last year ended more unfavorably than we had anticipated. In that situation we strove to find a solution which would be more favorable than rescheduling the debts and this now is the solution which we jointly reached with our largest partners in the convertible currency area.

How does all this look now? The economy is already reaping the benefits of this action. The conditions are being created for production to start rolling again in the middle of the year. All payments for fixed and guaranteed commitments, with the exception of interest payments on the principal, have been postponed as long as preparations continue for concluding agreements on all agreed credits with more than 500 foreign banks and 15 countries -- that is, individual agreements with each of them. A rough calculation shows that, in the first quarter of 1983, our payments totaling about $1.5 billion were postponed.

This means that these funds have instead entered the currents of the economy. Despite all our troubles -- it is known that production is stagnating -- it is nevertheless a fact that in the first 3 months exports to the convertible currency area increased by over 27 percent compared to last year. Thus, exports have begun to move despite the great difficulties in supply and in producer goods and other troubles. This package of foreign resources -- if I may put it this way -- is already partly beginning to have its effect. These decisions have been neither easy nor made rashly. Under the existing circumstances in the world and in our country, we sought a possible solution. This solution is neither easy nor painless. There is no easy and painless model of a solution for this situation. This must be clear to every responsible person. Yes, I can see the justified fear of our people lest this chance also be gambled away, which would be truly bad. As regards the Federal Executive Council, we will spare no efforts to prevent that. The SFRY Assembly has already adopted a law on using the commodity credits of about $1 billion. They may only be used for the benefit of production for exports -- that is, for ensuring a foreign exchange inflow for the repayment of credits. The SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council will take all the necessary measures to ensure that all foreign funds will be used exclusively to stimulate exports and strengthen our ability to regularly meet our commitments. A part of these funds will be used to provide for the population the most necessary commodities which are now in short supply but the largest part is intended to strengthen the reserve of the Yugoslav National Bank because we must think of the coming years. This is the concept. It has been adopted by the Assembly and, as regards the Federal Executive Council, we will spare no efforts to ensure that there will be no deviations and no irresponsible actions in this connection because what is involved is the future of all of us together. This means that the largest parts of the available resources will be used to stimulate production for exports to enable us to annually increase our exports by 20 percent. If we succeed in this somewhere around 1986, we estimate that our commitments will then be tolerable in relation to our foreign exchange inflow. At present our foreign commitments amount to about 40 percent of our real foreign exchange inflow. Under these conditions there is no room for any kind of normal development of production.

However, in this connection, too, we must not spread any illusions. This is a difficult program and will require many denials and great discipline and responsibility for all of us.

[Question] It is possible to sense a certain fear among citizens that the personal standard of living might fall more than we had anticipated. The Resolution on Development clearly states that sacrifices will be necessary and that a decline in the standard of living cannot be avoided in the coming years. However, is it not realistic to fear a headlong crash in the standard of living as a result of the current inflation and increasing prices?

[Answer] In our policy for 1983, we concluded that general spending should decline by 10 percent this year and this is already a very serious shock. We cannot promise that the standard of living will not continue to decline, b t we will spare no efforts to keep that decline within the limits on which we had agreed.

If together with the SFRY Assembly we conclude that this is not realistic, we will make proposals, put forward our arguments and then agree on what we should do. But now, in view of the established need for a decline in the real standard of living, the serious question arises about the conduct of a social policy which we still have only in slogans but not in practice. For instance, the time has come to raise the housing rents above their present low, totally uneconomical, and socially harmful levels, but the time has also come to concretely verify a program of subsidizing the rents for those who cannot pay them. We must protect those who would be most heavily hit by the entire stabilization program. And at the same time and within the existing narrow limits, we must stimulate productivity because the leveling can bring us no salvation and can provide no chances for more productive work and development. Social problems always continue to move us toward leveling, and any leveling in fact penalizes those who are advancing production. You have seen that the trade unions have now become active in introducing social cards. This is one of the ways which will help us define concretely, without slogans and quickly such a social policy which will effectively protect the citizens with the lowest incomes on the one hand and simultaneously stimulate those who contribute to moving production toward also materially stimulating greater contribution to income and to labor productivity on the other. [sentence as published]

[Question] You have seen from our opinion poll that several respondents propose that there should be "more young blood," in the Federal Executive Council. When you inform your cabinet, did you consider the possibility of engaging persons in their thirties in some of those departments where more "running" than "thinking" is needed?

[Answer] Well, this is what I think: The Federal Executive Council must be a combination of experience and youth. You know that one is elected as a member of the Federal Executive Council one day and the next day one must make decisions. This means that the people elected to the Federal Executive Council must have some experience. I do not think that all these individuals must necessarily have grey hair, but the problem is in the fact that today, in the leading positions in the republican executive councils or delegate assemblies, there are not many of those 30-year old individuals whom I would like to have in the Federal Executive Council. What I want to say is this: Anyone who joins the Federal Executive Council either to head a department or on the basis of the parity distribution of positions must have political experience and must be an expert in his field. Such people must have an opportunity to prove themselves before they become members of the Federal Executive Council.

However, I agree that there should be members in their thirties in the Executive Council. In the same way I searched for women in order not to be the only one in the Federal Executive Council, and you see what has happened.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION HELD 28 APRIL

LD290900 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The first speaker in the discussion at today's session of the LCY Central Committee, Hamdija Pozderac, stressed that efforts in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina are aimed at obtaining the most effective utilization of the total available potential and production capacity and achieving more favorable results in material and social development, especially in implementing the policy of economic stabilization.

The basic aims of the policy of development, which are defined in the social plan, should not be changed, Pozderac said, but the appropriate changes should be made in the structure of the economy and the planned tasks specifically defined because of the slower rate of development during the first 2 years of the realization of the social plan.

Pozderac particularly stressed the need to speed up work on the changes and additions to the social plan for the development of Yugoslavia. This should be our unanimous and clear orientation.

The question that inevitably arises in connection with foreign economic relations is that of defining the meaning of the concept of reliance on one's own resources. Reliance on domestic resources as a factor of stable and dynamic development should be interpreted as reliance on our own scientific and cadre potential, on our own technology, on better utilization of our energy and raw materials possibilities and the existing production capacities. The concept of reliance on our own resources should be worked out in an operational manner, according to plan, from the basic organizations of associated labor up to the federation. Reliance on one's own resources does not mean autarkic development, but better utilization of our comparative advantages. The mobilization of domestic forces and the working class on this basis will at the same time open out a broader area for the self-managing pooling of labor and resources on the unified Yugoslav market.

Pozderac went on to say that it is necessary to insist that everybody pay their debts abroad from their own resources and with their own exports, or by pooling resources and working things out with other organizations of associated labor on the basis of longer-lasting economic cooperation and interdependence. This must be encouraged by means of sytemic solutions and economic policy measures. The consistent fulfillment of accepted obligations will prevent centralization and the consolidation of statist relations in the acquisition and distribution of foreign exchange.

Sergej Kraigher agreed with the attitude expressed in the introductory report on the need to speed up the completion of the work of the federal social councils for the problems of the economic stabilization commission, and also with the assessment that there is not enough involvement in the specific formulation of solutions that have already been approved and with the assessment that a degree of opportunism and of differences of views on a number of the commission's policy decisions are evident in this respect.

Both in the commission's work and at the 12th LCY Congress we proceeded from the assumption that the roots of our difficulties lie in the workers' limited opportunity to make decisions on expanded reproduction, to be the real exponents of prices and planning decisions or to exercise real influence on the bank and on all the forms of consumption, on taxation policy and on the distribution of income and net income.

Kraigher added that over the next 2 months the federal social council's commission should adopt extensive separate reports on a large variety of occasionally even contradictory problems, such as the strategy of development and regional development, including the development of insufficiently developed republics and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. This is a condition that must be fulfilled if the commission is to coordinate views and conclude its work with the involvement of all social forces and thus enable the SFRY Assembly to receive the synthesis of the commission's work -- that is the long-term program of economic stabilization -- on time, which is to say in June before the summer recess. What lies ahead is the kind of organization of work that will ensure the conditions needed to carry out the basic demands of the stabilization program in society as a whole and in the individual sectors of society and life. This is why all the programs must begin to be organized and prepared now, because this is a very broad and responsible social task. In so doing, Kraigher stressed, we must also overcome the tendency to make changes primarily in regulations. We must persistently strive to change the present state of affairs and the outdated social relations in practice.

Predrag Djuric spoke in favor of ensuring that the Central Committee's influence is more powerful and that it has an even more resolute attitude to the fate of everything that has been agreed and decided.

One of the questions in connection with which we should more resolutely change things and even our way of thinking, Djuric stressed, is the degree of our economy's and especially our industry's -- technical and technological dependence on foreign countries.

Contrary to our policy of developing as an independent, nonaligned country, opened to the world and to everything that is progressive in that world, Djuric said, in the technical field we have developed over a long period of time virtually without any plan, in a haphazard manner, and largely relying on other people's knowledge.

Licenses and contracts have left little scope for our own creativity and for what our experts and workers have to offer, and the nonselective importation of technology and technological equipment has in a certain sense not only become a limiting factor in the country's overall progress and the development of our own technology, it also influences certain spheres of our country's defense preparations and the equipping of our Armed Forces.

It is true, Djuric added, that in the development and production of armament and military equipment we have achieved a considerably higher degree of independence from foreign countries than has been the case in different branches of industry. To date we have on the whole succeeeded, by relying on our own resources, in keeping abreast of technical and technological development and modernization of weapons systems and in manufacturing or acquiring the necessary armament and military equipment at a technical level feasible for us.

Unlike many countries of the world, Djuric noted, Yugoslavia has been setting aside less money for the financing of its Army and is among the countries with the lowest rate of increase in military expenditure.

It is indispensable to prepare immediately a complete program for reliance on our own resources in all areas, with specific details concerning the direction and contents of activity, proceeding from natural and work-created conditions and the activity of domestic forces toward the pooling of interests and reproduction needs between workers in the unified Yugoslav area, said Marko Djuricin.

Dusan Ckrebic spoke about the situation in Serbia, saying that there is evidence in the republic that the social and political groups are in general preoccupied with our economic situation, as well as by the question of how to overcome what obviously are very very major problems in that sphere and how to find a more speedy way out of the present situation. There are numerous discussions about this, as well as a feeling of nervousness and dissatisfaction because despite our numerous conclusions and discussions the economy is not moving in the desired direction.

Ckrebic said that we are currently most worried by the fact that industrial production continues to drop and that the current possibilities for reviving it are limited. Virtually all of Servia's industry, especially the collectives that form the large reproduction systems, face a shortage move serious than ever before of reproduction and raw materials, from both exports and domestic resources. In January and February this year alone the shortage of reproduction materials caused production shortages ranging from 4 to 35 days, preventing tens of thousands of workers from working.

Nevertheless certain positive results have been achieved in exports, especially in the convertible area -- this is one of themost important and most valuable positive trends from the point of view of the implementation of this Central Committee's conclusions. This trend shows that our workers and working people, especially those in direct production, are aware of the gravity of our economic situation and of the importance of their own role in the efforts to overcome it.

Ckrebic added that the League of Communists is getting back onto its feet, but that much work, persuasion, and effort will be needed to change acquired habits, to correct deep-rooted concepts and make many people understand that the time of relatively comfortable and easy imports and loans is over and that things must change radically, in places drastically and painfully, but they must change, Ckrebic stressed.

Zvone Dragan said that despite a series of serious problems there are some results we can basically assess as positive in the given very complex domestic and world conditions, particularly the fact that we maintained industrial production at last year's level and revived exports to the convertible currency area, which unfortunately was not accompanied by the appropriate inflow of foreign exchange into the country.

Total exports as of 18 April showed a 2-percent increase, and a 19-percent increase to the convertible currency area. At the same time imports from the convertible currency area were reduced by as much as 18 percent, and overall imports by 10 percent. These import trends will certainly have a negative effect on industrial production in the coming months, particularly since the trends in April indicate that the current pace of exports is being reduced, especially to the convertible currency area, which could reduce still further the possibilities for imports. It is true that increased imports from the clearing area in the first quarter contributed to the relief of the shortage of raw materials and reproduction materials, but the continuation of such trends can hardly be expected in the future, because we have already utilized a significant part of the agreed quantities of foreign exchange from this area.

Payments for investments in the first 3 months showed a nominal 17.5-percent increase. However, although the quantity of investments remains high; their inadequate structure is particularly worrisome, which means in fact that the process of redirecting investment to priority areas, on which the success of the stabilization policy depends in the long term, still has not seriously begun.

The growth of personal incomes in the first 3 months has shown a trend toward slowing down, and in real terms they have fallen below 7 percent. Incomes for general and joint consumption in the first 3 months are still showing a dynamic growth in excess of the planned framework. Incomes for general consumption have increased by 26 percent and for joint consumption by approximately 24 percent in relation to the first quarter of last year.

In conditions of rising inflation, and living costs in particular, the fall in real personal incomes is already at a level below which it should not go for sociopolitical reasons and reasons of economic motivation. The problem is not only in the level of personal incomes but in total personal consumption. The dinar and foreign exchange flow to other countries has been greatly reduced, so that some of this deferred total personal consumption appears on the domestic market as additional consumer demand. This is precisely why we are clearing up the trends in the sector of total personal consumption as a whole, in order to establish greater equilibrium between commodity funds and the purchasing power of the domestic market.

The dominant aspect of the realization of the economic stabilization policy not only in this year but in the next few years, Dragan warned, remains the question of maintaining and improving the country's external liquidity.

I would like to mention especially, Dragan stressed, that such action this year was unavoidably necessary, dictated by our serious economic situation and the situation on the international financial market, and that there is not the slightest element to lead anyone to conclude that the action for securing foreign credits provides a basis for any laxity, and still less for the relaxation of the policy of relying on our own forces and the consistent realization of the economic stabilization policy.

Zvone Dragan then informed LCY Central Committee members of the preliminary assessments of the effects and the present state of foreign support for this year, primarily from the World Bank, the IMF 15 western governments, and a series of foreign commercial banks.

According to present assessments -- and much depends on trends in interest rates -- in 1983 we should have to repay, that is effectively repay or cover in some other way, more than $5 billion. We estimate that we will have to use approximately $3.3 billion from current foreign exchange earnings for the repayment of the foreign debt this year, which amounts to one-third of the country's anticipated total convertible currency revenues, or 45 percent of the commodity part of that revenue, while $1.6-1.8 billion of the principal would be refinanced. [Word indistinct] also the part of refinancing of certain projects, which would also relieve our overall liquidity situation.

In the coming year we will also have to repay effectively from current foreign exchange earnings a considerable part of the current foreign debt, Zvone Dragan continued. In this, of course, we are also counting on frozen short-terms credits and deposits, and on the assumption of further intensive growth of exports to the convertible currency area, in order to be able to pay off gradually and to an increasing extent foreign debts from our own foreign currency earnings and to reduce the rate and extent of the foreign debt to normal proportions again.

So we cannot look forward to particularly good times, although we have for the time being avoided the so-called general reprograming of foreign debts. We have embarked on a hard struggle to resolve the problem of our indebtedness -- which was, however, essential and very important for us.

For this reason we must particularly stress the question of our organized and rational approach in the utilization of these credits, the question of responsibility for our conduct, which in certain environments has recently again been tending increasingly toward self-satisfaction and laxity, and the question of personal responsibility, about which Comrade Markovic spoke in his opening address.

In the Federal Executive Council we will do everything in our power, within the framework of our rights and powers, and we will persist in this to the end, Dragan stressed, to see that not $1 of our present fairly expensive credits is "lost," that it is not approved without clear evidence of the foreign exchange effects it will realize and without the certainty of its current or later return.

The Federal Executive Council considers, Dragan emphasized, that for the time being there is no need to change any of the essential aims and tasks of the agreed economic policy for this year.

It is out of the question simply to expect all kinds of new packages of measures without implementing the agreed policy, or rather without taking measures and action within the framework of our own rights, duties, and responsibilities.

In the Federal Executive Council and in other structures we are increasingly preoccupied with the strong wave and trend of growth in prices and inflation, Zvone Dragan continued, adding: The Federal Executive Council considers that conditions should be created as soon as possible for the objective opening up of possibilities for the prices of certain commodities and services to be formed according to the market conditions, -- of course, with the full responsibility of the subjects themselves, and particularly in the case of those commodities which do not significantly affect the basic living standard and the base -- so-called base framework -- of the cost of living.

Clearly for years we have not admitted the fact the prices are as a rule a much better regulator of relations on the market than a whole series of administrative or other measures. That is why in some sectors, where it is possible and necessary, in addition to other measures for coordinating the volume and structure of demand and the selective revival of production on the basis of export demand, we must transfer immediately to selective unfreezing of prices or less rigorous forms of direct social control of prices and greater respect for the criterion of the law on the bases (?of prices).

Finally Zvone Dragan enumerated the immediate operative tasks of the Communists in the Federal Executive Council.

The results achieved by the Slovene economy today are due to economic compulsion and organized political activity. Thanks to this, the consciousness and conduct of the working people as regards work and management of social resources are slowly changing in the direction of more efficacious business operations and management of these resources, Andrej Marinc said.

It is also being realized that room for maneuver on the Yugoslav market is insufficient and that we thus have to expand and export.

One of the most essential questions burdening the whole country's economy today is the battle against inflation, according to Marinc. Inflation destroys all results and efforts of working people and we can and must gradually reduce it to a tolerable level only by consistent behavior throughout the country, in all organizations of associated labor, municipalities, republics, provinces, and the federation.

It is also the duty of all republics and provinces to export to areas with convertible foreign exchange, and in this respect a still more determined action is necessary. The results achieved in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and so forth will be decisive because the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, with its 25-percent participation in exports to the areas with convertible foreign exchange, has no more reserves for this.

The aim of our plenum, Marinc continued, is to strive for greater unity in action and to reduce the discrepancy between policy, declarations, aims, and reality as regards development, expenditure, and the application of the system of socialist self-management.

The question of realistic planning and formulation of realistic aims of the socioeconomic development is essential for the whole and efficacious business operation, Marinc assessed. However, various pressures are being exerted on the federation to extract instruments and policy which would help in the present conditions to achieve unrealistic aims. These pressures are being exerted on the administration, on the federal pressures are being exerted on the administration, on the federal organs up to the Assembly and especially on the banks, and so forth.

I support the proposal that the republics and provinces bear full responsibility for all aspects of expenditure, depending, of course, on the material possibilities, and that the federation be enabled to intervene and control this implementation through its institutions and system and through its instruments and competences.

It would be useful, according to Marinc, for a discussion to be held in the Central Committee as soon as possible about the importance, place, and role of the federation in the system and practice, especially in view of the constitutional changes, so that we would not burden it with functions which are not in its competence but in the competence of associated labor, municipalities, and republics and to prevent old bills being presented in the federation for past policy.

In this respect we must all together finally ask the question: do we want to continue tolerating so-called socialization of bad business operations by the organizations of associated labor, various interest communities and some development ambitions which are not in keeping with our material possibilities in the sociopolitical communities? This is a class and national question because we are endangering the integrity of our development.

So there is no way out other than to adjust the measures and instruments of economic policy in keeping with the system of socialist self-management, which will primarily stimulate the basic subjects, workers, to be directly responsible and encourage income-linking and integration of associated labor on all Yugoslav territory. I would not say, as Ckrebic put it, that the system of agreement-making or the practice of agreement-making is in a state of crisis. I believe that crisis exists in the economic policy, in some instruments which do not encourage the system inaugurated by the new constitution.

The League of Communists and this Central Committee also face a very great responsibility as regards the implementation of the policy concerning the use of foreign credits, in order not to gamble away the chance which we have to emerge from this situation. In this respect, Marnic concluded, I support the stances which we have adopted at the fourth Central Committee session.

The necessary turn in the economic trends, which was the basic task of the economic policy for this year, has not yet begun, Vojo Srzentic said.

Today's Central Committee session must answer the question of what should be done in the LCY to pass from the declaratory adoption of policy of the League of Communists to specific work and implementation of the agreed stances without delay. This session, Srzentic added, must announce the start of an uncompromising struggle by the LCY to intensify responsibility for initiating the turn in economic trends, because we simply can no longer delay the start of this action.

It is my impression that the LCY lacks boldness and maybe also readiness to undertake more decisive moves. In my view, Srzentic said, the League of Communists must be the protagonist of specific initiatives and actions in this sphere.

The way out of the economic crisis is also more difficult, Srzentic said, because no essential turn has yet been to solve some big material disproportions in the Yugslav economy, which is of decisive importance for its successful inclusion in the international division of labor. Without the solution of these material structural disproportions our economy's dependence on imports will not be reduced.

As in earlier years, because of difficulties during agreement-making and coordination of interests, this year, too, some measures of economic policy are so general that they are inoperative and difficult to implement, Srzentic observed.

It is also considered that failure to abide by the agreed policy is assuming ever wider proportions, which is hindering the implementation of the envisaged aims, causing disruption in business operations and, in general, casting a shadow over the efficiency of regulating the economic trends by self-managing methods.

To carry out an active economic policy means a comprehensive assessment and anticipation of all effects which can be expected from individual measures in order to forestall the negative consequences which some of them may produce. We are not doing this, Srzentic observed.

As regards the policy of a realistic exchange rate for the dinar, Srzentic said that it would produce positive results if measures were taken on the domestic level to reduce inflation, lower the burden on the economy, and reduce expenditure and cost of production. As we have not done this, the present policy of a realistic exchange rate for the dinar objectively contributes to further financial exhaustion of the economy and the banks.

The two weakest points of the current economic situation, for whose solution we do not have a comprehensive program -- according to Srzentic -- are the problems of the dinar's foreign exchange liquidity, which seriously threaten the process of work in many organizations of associated labor.

Dusan Gligorijevic pointed out that the activity connected with the adoption of measures was unsatisfactory, slow and uncoordinated. We do not expect, he added, a comprehensive concept to be made immediately after the conclusions of the Central Committee or the discussion in a political body. But this cannot be put off indefinitely, especially since some questions of market relations could be solved very quickly. This applies above all to the field of prices, which is, in his view, the weakest point of our economic policy. Without a concept and clear policy in this field, Gligorijevic believes, it will not be possible to implement the policy of stabilization.

Another field in which we are waiting for action is the regulation of foreign debts. There is no doubt, he observed, that the solution to the country's foreign liquidity is facilitated by greater foreign financial engagement.

Prolonging the payment of debts has eased the situation of some indebted subjects and the country as a whole. However, he warned, this also intensifies to the maximum the responsibility for a well-considered, organized and well-controlled action for the use and repayment of foreign debts. The responsibility is increasing, not only for the obligations we have accented but for organized action by our working people. Insufficient acquisition of foreign exchange, slow change in the status of foreign indebtedness and so on represents a warning that we do not have much time to take the necessary measures. All this shows the need to prepare a comprehensive program concerning the use of foreign debts, repayment of old ones, and ensuring the country's foreign liquidity -- coupled with intensified responsibility.

As a political matter, it is also necessary to strengthen even more the adopted principle that everyone who borrows must ensure the repayment of his bank. Only then will it be possible to talk about solidarity and mutual assistance, Gligorijevic stated.

The ideo-political strength of the League of Communists is such that we could and should, in spite of objective difficulties, do far more in the implementation of the policy of stabilization, Marjan Rozic said. Instead of action in many environments we still accept the phenomena of either coloring, underestimating, or exaggerating the difficulties. Secondary questions are being politicized, while essential questions of stabilization are often considered in a too general and declaratory manner.

It is a matter of concern that the orientation toward one's own forces in some environments is being belittled, watered down, and circumvented and that everything is being reduced to the expectation of new measures, above all new credits from abroad. Such expectations often represent capitulation to difficulties, especially since these credits must not be socialized and must be used to activate our own forces and thus enable our country regularly to fulfill its obligations toward foreign countries. Not a single dollar should be used to prolong the present shortcomings in business operations.

Often work is interrupted because of a shortage of materials, raw materials, and sometimes energy. In such conditions, the workers become dissatisfied, not with self-management but with this situation, because they cannot continue normal production in spite of -- or perhaps because of -- excessive administration. Almost every work stoppage requires stabilization solutions. A meeting, a sharp word about shortcomings in business operations, essentially demands still more self-management, work, and concrete responsibility. It demands room for better and larger exports, to cut the roots of the vampire-like statism. In these conditions the workers do not ask for charity, only to be able to create greater income through their work. The differentiation between workers and idlers has become more expressive.

The League of Communists acts more as an outside factor of the ideo-political action influence and less as an internal power of the self-managing delegate system. Should this situation continue, the League of Communists will be asked questions which do not always belong to it, and thus it will not be able to play its ideo-political role, Dusan Alimpic said. Since the League of Communists is not sufficiently linked with the self-managing structure and does not have a sufficiently active attitude in the system, it is often compelled to adopt general conclusions on questions that are now our main preoccupation, but on which it is not in a position to mobilize the membership for action and to ensure its efficacy.

We should distinguish in practice between the right of the state as a socio-political community and the right of the associated labor and the basic organization of associated labor, because in this respect there are arbitrary interpretations, especially with regard to planning.

Nationalism, too, regularly enters the struggle between statism and self-management. It does not bypass members of the League of Communists either, because they are in the center of this struggle. The roots of these forms and kinds of nationalism do not have be sought in the inherited past, in the contradictions of our society, or in the activity of the rigid enemies of socialism but can be found in the production relations which contain a multitude of remnants of the old system. Therefore, Alimpic emphasized, in further elaborating the program of stabilization and the closer operationalization of the tasks in this stage, we must deal with the priority task of maintaining production and its continuity and of creating conditions to ensure increased production with new qualitative changes in order to overcome the present situation as soon as possible.

Dusan Veljkovic said that in the present situation it is not enough to be satisfied with assessments of "individual efforts" and "certain achieved results," or to criticize certain behavior. A different, more radical approach is necessary in which the most responsible factors in our society will help to cut certain knots and determine concrete directions of action. The enormous potential of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces of our society will then be mobilized and creatively engaged.

It is often stated, including on this occasion, that there are widespread phenomena of isolating reproduction trends within narrow territorial areas and of making supplies conditional and even subject to blackmail. In general this is all that is being said and there is no readiness to state openly who is doing this and why, which would be the basis for taking concrete measures to prevent such phenomena. Sometimes even public documents state that behind such behavior by economic and other subjects there are links at the level of municipalities, provinces, and republics. All this is being treated lightly and yet we should firmly address such phenomena here. The same applies to other negative phenomena, especially in the sphere of prices.

Munir Mesihovic feels that the attitude toward losses resulting from bad business operations must be radically changed. One must seriously ponder, he said, the enormous resources which a part of associated labor, which is operating successfully, has been contributing for years at the expense of its own and general social development in order to cover these losses. With these resources we could have built new factories, developed items which would have created more income, employed more people and opened further prospects for economic and overall social progress. In the conclusions and resolutions, we firmly expressed ourselves in favor of strengthening the material basis of self-management in the basic organizations of associated labor in the economy. However, the final accounts for 1982 show that the participation of the basic organizations of associated labor from the economy in overall income fell from 63 to 61 percent. No real talks have been held yet, Mesihovic said, on the responsibility for failing to implement the adopted conclusions and tasks in connection with the decision of the 12th LCY Congress to strengthen the decisive role of the workers in social reproduction as the essential class question of further developing the system of socialist self-management.

What especially causes concern is the fact that in some environments the League of Communists has not managed to oppose the insistence on partial interests more effectively and that in some cases it has even defended them.

Until every advocate of decisions in the associated labor and sociopolitical communities, from the municipalities to the federation, is made responsible for common interests, more successful results in implementing the policy of economic stabilization cannot be expected, Mesihovic emphasized. In this connection the question is: Do all measures of economic policy and the manner in which we implement them effectively open room for strengthening the role of the workers in associated labor and for motivating them to implement the aims and tasks of the socioeconomic development and policy of economic stabilization?

The atmosphere created by the complex economic situation, Mesihovic continued, encourages measures and actions in the associated labor and society as a whole leading toward a levelling off of incomes. It is a fact that in recent times, due to economic difficulties and intensified problems with regard to the standard of living and social policy, we have neglected the struggle for the application of the principle of distribution according to the results of work. The problems of protecting the standards of working people and citizens, especially those with the lowest incomes, have also become more expressive. Data showing that a large number of those employed in the social sector have a below-average personal income illustrates the exceptional complexity and sensitivity of this problem. This, too, demands a more efficacious and wider social action.

Since we continue to spend more than we create and relations in the distribution of income at the expense of the economy are getting worse, it would be perhaps better, Mesihovic went on, to develop in our policy the practice that budgets and allocations for joint expenditure be discussed, after an assessment of the economic situation, by the economic subjects of associated labor, and not that we first determine the general and joint expenditure and then adopt measures to return the surplus which the economy allocates.

We must not allow further multiplication of errors in the investment sector, Mesihovic said, and added that there are investments which are causing concern, not only because of their volume in the social product but much more from the point of view of their socioeconomic justification. All this together has slowed down and hindered the necessary change in the structure and division of labor.

When a worker assesses the reality of the planned income, he will do so proceeding from the analysis of his own calculations, which will inevitably lead him to a critical examination of every point of production expenditure and thus to the essence of the struggle for productivity and income. It is already clear today that there is no rule for comparing increased productivity with incomes. This is a link which must be established, Mesihovic emphasized.

I expected this session to make the competent organs, the Executive Council, Assembly, and others, dutybound to state how various subjects had behaved with regard to rising prices, in other words to explain why the resolution was not being implemented in the price sector, why there was such a high rate of inflation, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic noted. This not only matter of a threat to the working people's standard of living, it causes people to lose confidence in our ability to attain the goals for which we have opted. We have opted, he recalled, for a policy whereby the rate of inflation and prices must go down and not up.

I insist, Nedeljkovic stressed, that the Central Committee bind the competent organs to establish accurately who is to blame and at what level: What happened at the federal level; who adopted such decisions; what happened at the level of the republics and provinces; and what happened at the level of municipalities -- in other words, all the factors who made decisions on prices.

Djordje Kostic spoke in favor of the "public naming" of all those responsible for the negative phenomena in the economy and society. Thus 69 percent of the finished goods planned to be imported during the year from the convertible area were imported during the first quarter of the year, while raw and reproduction material imports, instead of rising by 4 percent, dropped by 8 percent as compared with last year. The consequence of this is that numerous capacities are virtually idle because there are no imported raw and reproduction materials.

In the Crvena Zastava plant, for instance, they no longer speak about periodic halts in production but about periodic spells of work done to put finishing touches on individual types of vehicle. Only 57 percent of the production planned for the first 3 months was actually achieved and personal incomes are paid in the form of loans. Workers are unemployed and dissatisfied, and ask themselves whether this has been caused by objective difficulties and dependence on imports or by our own shortcomings. We must name those responsible for situations of this kind, Kostic stressed.

We constantly create surpluses, and the federation and the republics then rush legislation through an emergency procedure to make it possible to set these surpluses aside and channel them in the direction of any particular purposes. Why do we work in this way and allow the state to intervene in areas for which we have adopted agreements which we do not adhere to? It is perfectly well known here who the signatories to these agreements are, but we do not know of any example of a socio-political community or self-managing interest community bearing consequences because it has scooped up surplus income and thus impoverished the economy, Kostic said.

Positive changes have been made in Kosovo with regard to Communists' awareness and their behavior, as well as those of the majority of the working class in Kosovo, and with regard to the attitude to production, work obligations, and elimination of various forms of negative behavior and phenomena, Kolj Siroka said. It has been shown that positive results can also be achieved in the field of agricultural production, despite the latter being quite fragmented, scattered, and insufficiently socially organized.

However, some collectives and some sections of industry are lagging behind because they depend on objective factors such as imports of raw materials, reproduction materials, and spare parts, thus reducing the results achieved. Consequently it is only in the coming years that Kosovo will orient itself more seriously toward exporting to the convertible area. This will take place after the completion of a number of projects intended for the production of goods for the area. Until then it will have to be borne in mind that Kosovo will not be able to carry out certain tasks which we have been given, primarily those concerning exports.

We have placed the problems which burden Kosovo today before the whole of our community, and in that sense we have received the maximum possible agreement and support to enable us, by combining resources by means of pooling and association, to open Kosovo more fully to the rest of the country by opening new capacities and speeding up employment.

According to assessments made, opening Kosovo in such a way could prevent any further negative trend and turn high things in a positive direction so that not only those who were born in Kosovo could remain and those who have left could return, but that cadres from the rest of the country could go there to make a contribution, together with the people in Kosovo, to the development of the province.

The complex economic situation in which we found ourselves at the beginning of this year, Stojce Stojcevski said, is most directly reflected in the declining level and quality of the workers' standard of living.

Unless prices, and thereby the cost of living, are stopped from rising at such a high rate, Stojcevski said, real personal incomes will drop to below the planned level, which will objectively devalue workers' efforts and reduce their readiness for more work and effort. In such conditions it will become much more difficult to apply the system of distribution according to work and the results of work, and there will be a more real possibility of a growing trend toward a levelling down [uravnilovka].

Nikola Raznjatovic agreed with the assessment that there is a relatively high degree of confidence that a way, hard but certain, would be found out of this situation, and conceded that a long period of time would be needed, but, as time passed, solutions are becoming uncertain and confidence is waning. In his view the real question this gathering should deal with is why we are failing to succeed in numerous areas of economic life despite intensified social action aimed at passing numerous economic policy measures. If the Central Committee fails today, or at its next session, to give an answer to this uppermost question it will mean that it is not capable of changing things. The working people demand solutions offering a way out of this situation and want consistence with regard to the concept offered them. However, what is happening? In practice our forecasts meet with excessively speedy refutation. It is inconceivable how a resolution for 1983, a main document with regard to the 1981-85 plan, can be refuted within 12-15 days of its adoption. I do not think that this kind of approach, this kind of policy can change things. And what is the purport of the assessment according to which the rate of inflation in the first 3 months of this year was higher than at any other time in the last 10 years? I think that if we at this session do not give an answer to this question, we should do so at the next. From year to year associated labor is suffering such blows to its income that it is all becoming unbearable. We say that all the blame lies with production, but its backbone is twisted under the burden of taxes headed on it against agreement made and without consultation.

I think it is high time we became more courageous in our approach to settling our problems and that we should start by tackling them according to their importance. At the moment, Nikola Raznjatovic said, what is most important is to ensure consistency in carrying out an agreed policy, combined with a higher degree of economic independence and a pooling of resources on the unified Yugoslav market. It is also necessary to ensure a higher degree of personal and collective accountability, and more fellowship and mutual trust, without overstressing specific differences.

Workers, with full justification, say that consultations between the republics and provinces slow down the speed with which things are done. This particularly applies to the distribution of foreign exchange, Veseli Morina said. As an example, he said the battery plant in Titova Mitrovica had to let workers stay at home for 20 days because of a shortage of materials.

It is necessary, as a revolutionary vanguard, as the League of Communists, that we should look at ourselves, Joze Ciuha said. In carrying out our attitudes we must be rigorous and consistent and must dismiss opportunists, those who are incompetent.

Our League of Communists should be composed of more direct producers and an occasional scientist, cultural worker, sociologist, ecologist, farmer. Such forums of the League of Communists would be more versatile and better able to tackle problems, Joze Ciuha said.

KOSOVO'S VAKIC ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION

LD021743 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 2 May 83

[Text] Belgrade, 2 May (TANJUG) -- The political and economic situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is constantly improving, thanks to the activity of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces. Mutual trust between the nations and nationalities in this part of Yugoslavia, which had been undermined by irredentist enemy actions, has been restored. Brotherhood, unity, and fellowship are proving themselves to be the prerequisites and guarantees of prosperity and living together. This was stressed by Ilija Vakic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in an interview given to Radio Yugoslavia.

According to Ilija Vakic, through intensified ideological work and consistent political differentiation, an increasingly successful struggle is being waged against all forms of foreign ideological indoctrination and penetration from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The enemy has been dealt a decisive blow. He has been given a beating, but he has not been fully defeated. However, Vakic stressed, the scope for enemy activity and youth indoctrination is becoming increasingly small. The enemy will never again be able to launch actions that could threaten Yugoslavia's freedom, unity, and sovereignty.

Nationalist activity in Kosovo, Bakic added, has been and continues to be particularly encouraged by the adventurous policy that Enver Hoxha and the Albanian leadership have continuously pursued since 1948. They are not choosy about what means they use to attack Yugoslavia's internal and foreign policy, self-management system, and constitutional order. By attacking Yugoslavia Enver Hoxha wishes to place the blame for Albania's current situation on someone other than himself and his insane policy with regard to his people. It is much easier to attack others, Vakic says, than to account for liquidation of one's closest collaborators, numerous purges, camps and prisons and Albania's isolation from the world. Such a policy is transparent and short-lived and is increasingly meeting with condemnation from Albanians in Kosovo, as well as all progressive forces in Albania and the world.

Speaking about the province's economic development Vakic stressed that Kosovo's achievements in its development to date could only be possible in this kind of Yugoslavia: a community of equal nations and nationalities. The Yugoslav community will secure 62 billion dinars for the province's economic progress during this medium-term period through the Fund for the Development of Insufficiently Developed Republics and the Province of Kosovo. Apart from that, work organizations from other parts of Yugoslavia will build 45 important economic projects in which 28 billion dinars will be invested. These capacities will provide jobs for over 10,000 people. Along with the speedy revival of the economy, Ilija Vakic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, said in conclusion, it is also necessary to work for political stabilization, a complete end to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, the prevention of nationalist and all other forms of enemy activity, and full general and personal security for all inhabitants of the Province of Kosovo.

PRISTINA: SERB, MONTENEGRIN EMIGRATION CONTINUES

LD292132 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Pristina, 29 Apr (TANJUG) -- The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Pristina is continuing with practically undiminished intensity.

According to figures presented at today's session of the municipal assembly, 1,891 persons of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality left this town and its environs last year. The intensity of emigration was particularly evident in the second half of 1982 when 1,039 persons left. In the first 3 months of this year, this process also continued unabated because [word indistinct] submitted requests for leaving and 331 persons emigrated. Of the adults who left, over 30 percent had jobs and about 40 percent had either an apartment or house. It is particularly worrying that a considerable number of professionals have left -- engineers, doctors, professors, technicians, and skilled workers, and among them also 22 League of Communists members.

In today's debate too, as on several occasions in the past 2 years, it was stated that one of the basic reasons for people leaving is the psychosis created in the wake of the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Of course, a series of various socioeconomic, family, and other reasons are also given. In any case, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues to be one of the most subtle and complex political problems in the Pristina municipality.

The debate on this subject comes at a time marked by dissenting views. In today's assembly debate in Pristina it was also stressed unambiguously that all forms of physical, nationalistic pressures have been eliminated, that excesses and intranational intolerance are continuously diminishing, that security organs and the judiciary are becoming increasingly efficient and that in the past few months the trust of working people and citizens in the League of Communists and organs of power has been constantly growing; in a nutshell, the relevant measures and activities by the League of Communists and state organs have produced certain results in reducing emigration.

On the other hand, it was stated that the economic problems, the impossibility of obtaining jobs, and other difficulties impact on people leaving, but that there are still social and intra-national conflicts that influence emigration. Thus, there are numerous problems which should be calmly resolved, although not by forums but in specific on the spot terms. This is all the more difficult in the Pristina municipality if one bears in mind that this is the largest and most widely-spread commune with unmanageable local communities, and thus conclusions and measures are not implemented on time. Members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, on the other hand, most frequently leave "incognito" and most of them depart in great secrecy thus presenting socio-political organizations and relevant organs with a fait accompli.

LJUBICIC ADDRESSES SVETOZAREVO AKTIV MEETING

LD292052 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Svetozarevo, 29 Apr (TANJUG) -- Taking part in this afternoon's talks with the economic and political aktiv in Svetozarevo, Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency, spoke about the political system. He stressed that there can be no speedy way out of the difficulties we now face if we do not ensure the accurate functioning not only of all economic factors, but of all political factors. Ljubicic believes that these constitute the sum total of social reality and action and that it is only with the accurate application of the political system that we can achieve political unity both of the provinces inside Serbia, and with other republics.

Ljubicic continues, "It is necessary to monitor carefully the working of our society's institutions -- from local communities to municipalities, regions, provinces and the republic.

"Every one of them has its role and place within the context of our socio-political system.

"How they carry out their functions is very important. Therefore we cannot now accept any questions as to whether any of these institutions is necessary or obsolete, because this would not only encroach on constitutional solutions and institutions, but also all of them -- whether they are socio-political communities or regions or municipality communities -- have been founded with the aim of speeding up the development of the functioning of the system, as a link between the large number of municipalities in the Republic of Serbia and republican institutions, and because they are very much needed and have until now justified their existence. In our assessment the regions are successfully carrying out their constitutional and all obligations that the municipalities are conferring on them. It is therefore necessary to create conditions to improve the functioning of intra-municipal regional communities. To raise this issue today, when we have far more important problems, leads to nothing," Ljubicic said.

LCY EXPELS JOURNALIST FOR SERBIAN NATIONALISM

LD301418 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 28 Apr 83

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Basic Organization of the League of Communists of Radnicka Stampa [Workers' Press] in Belgrade announced today that it was unanimously decided at last night's meeting to expel Vuk Draskovic, a journalist of the magazine RAD, from the LCY.

During several months of discussion the basic organization of the League of Communists considered the political implications of Draskovic's public activities expressed in his articles in the public media, his statements on public platforms, and in his literary work, especially in the novel "The Knife."

Vuk Draskovic, the statement by the basic organization of the League of Communists says, has expressed viewpoints which show quite clearly that he is deeply opposed to LCY policy and that his actions are based on greater Serbian nationalism. Draskovic has tried to present himself as a victim of circumstances and "a campaign" dictated from forums, while setting up this basic organization of the League of Communists as the last bulwark of defense of his nationalist convictions. His concept of freedom of creativity is synonymous with activity against LCY policy, especially against the LCY struggle for the equality and brotherhood and unity of nations and nationalities.

The decision on expulsion was adopted by the basic organization of the League of Communists at the fourth meeting, which discussed Draskovic's responsibility at the previous meeting. The statement says that at this meeting the members of this basic organization unanimously denounced the behavior of V. Draskovic, but could not agree on the level of responsibility for his activity. However, in light of more recent developments the basic organization, in agreement with the committee of basic organizations of the League of Communists in the organs and organizations of the federation, organized yet another discussion. At the meeting held on 27 April, Draskovic's behavior was assessed as politically unacceptable, and extremely nationalistic. It was stated that his entire activity represented a deliberate attempt to undermine the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. He was also denounced for the attempt to manipulate this basic organization of the League of Communists, accusing it of acting "on the directives of individuals and groups" whom he offended by his writing.

CROATIAN SAWP ADOPTS REPORT, ELECTS PRESIDIUM

LD271109 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 27 Apr 83

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 26 Apr (TANJUG) -- The delegates of the Croatian SAWP Republican conference adopted at their constituting session today the report on the work of the republican conference in the past 4-year period and elected a new 27-member Presidium, the chairmen of the republican conference bodies, members of the Croatian SAWP delegation at the federal conference, and delegates to the federal conference presidium.

In submitting the introductory report, President Darinka Puskaric stressed that the Socialist Alliance in present-day conditions manifests itself as in irreplaceable form of the broadest democratic linking up of all workers, working people and citizens, and of all progressive and democratic forces in society.

In the past 4-year period, a whole series of significant results in many spheres of life and work have been achieved, but in the development and building up of this organization, as the broadest front, numerous weaknesses have also been noted. Thus, Darinka Puskaric said, the role of the Croatian SAWP as the political foundation and force in the functioning and development of socialist self-management of the delegate system and decision-making is not being consistently implemented. The action and political coordination inside the Socialist Alliance is also not satisfactory, and it has been noted that it is turning from a place of political coordination into a service of other organizations, instead of setting in motion and organizing the implementation of the conclusions of such coordination.

Darinka Puskaric devoted the second part of her extensive report to the current economic situation and to the Socialist Alliance's actions in the realization of the socioeconomic stabilization program. Speaking about foreign credits, without which as additional financial resources we could not, as she stressed, carry out the economic stabilization program, Darinka Puskaric stressed that this is more favorable solution than the rescheduling of debts which was frequently discussed last year. The basic function of these credits is to create the necessary conditions for a revival of production.

Concluding her report, Darinka Puskaric stressed: "We must demonstrate our resolve to continue along Tito's path by consistently realizing the goals and tasks of our revolution and socialist construction, brotherhood and unity, equality and fellowship, in order that we might resist all assaults on equality and on the system of socialist self-management. We are aware of the fact that the road out of the situation in which we find ourselves will be a long one and that it is on the ability of the subjective socialist forces to strengthen the social position, power, and influence of self-managing associated labor that the success in resolving and overcoming difficulties which encumber our society in continuing further socialist self-managing development will depend."

Members of the Republican conference today elected Milica Posavec as president of the Republican conference for the activity and the role of women in social development.